

# MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

UNIVERSITY  
OF MICHIGAN

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MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
BALTIMORE

*March · 1958*



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For other contributions, including those donated in connection with payment of annual dues, the Society makes grateful acknowledgment.

Gifts of various funds, many of large amounts, have been received to advance the cause of historical preservation and increase appreciation of our Maryland heritage. These have been used for contemplated purposes for the benefit of the people of Maryland without direct advantage to the Society and have not been included in the general funds listed above.

Mrs. Edgar W. Garbisch, Old Trinity	Ramsay, Scarlett & Co.
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For the gift of objects, books and papers, far too numerous to list here, which have been received in the century and more since it was founded, the Society records this expression of its lasting gratitude. These contributions from countless members and friends have made the Society a major storehouse of state and national treasures

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COVER

The Forges Bridge over the Great Falls of the Gunpowder River on the Old Philadelphia Road. It was opened to traffic about 1800 and was torn down in the 1920's. This photograph was taken about 1900 by Anna Sellman Gittings (d. 1943). Seated on a rock is her sister, Mary Sterett Gittings (1872-1957). Their sister, Miss Victoria Gittings, presented the photograph to the Maryland Historical Society, through Mr. William B. Marye.

Annual Subscription to the Magazine \$4.00. Each issue \$1.00. The Magazine assumes no responsibility for statements or opinions expressed in its pages.

FRANCIS C. HABER, Editor

The Magazine is entered as second class matter, at the post office at Baltimore, Maryland, under Act of August 24, 1912.

## THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

H. IRVINE KEYSER MEMORIAL BUILDING

201 W. MONUMENT STREET, BALTIMORE 1

GEORGE L. RADCLIFFE, President; JAMES W. FOSTER, Director

The Maryland Historical Society, incorporated in 1844, was organized to collect, preserve and spread information relating to the history of Maryland and of the United States. Its threefold program includes

1. Collection of manuscript and printed materials, maps, prints, paintings, furniture, silver, fabrics, maritime items, and other objects of interest;
2. Preservation of these materials for the benefit of all who care to enjoy them, and exhibition of items which will encourage an understanding of State and National history; and
3. Spread of historical information relating to Maryland and the rest of the country by means of addresses at the Society's home by authorities in various fields; addresses to outside groups by officers and staff of the Society; publication of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, a quarterly containing original articles about State history; *Maryland History Notes*, a quarterly bulletin of news of the Society and other local historical items; the *Archives of Maryland* and volumes of the series "Maryland in World War II" under the authority of the State; and the series of books entitled "Studies in Maryland History."

Annual dues of the Society are \$8 and up, life membership \$150. Subscription to the *Magazine* and to the quarterly news bulletin, *Maryland History Notes*, is included in the membership fee as well as use of the collections and admission to the lectures. The library, portrait gallery and museum rooms, are open daily except Sunday, 9 to 5, Saturday, 9 to 4. *June 15 to Sept. 15*, daily 9 to 4, Saturday, 9 to 1.

### FORM OF BEQUEST

I give and bequeath to the Maryland Historical Society, incorporated under the laws of Maryland, the sum of \_\_\_\_\_ dollars.

(Specific purpose of bequest may be stated, if desired)

# MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

*A Quarterly*

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Volume 53

MARCH, 1958

Number 1

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## HISTORY AS A REFUGE FROM TODAY

By JAMES PARTON \*

MY theme—"History as a Refuge from Today"—may strike you as somewhat enigmatic. If so, I am delighted, for that is just what I intended! I do not mean anything quite so simple as refuge in the sense of *escape*. Yet escapism is widely regarded as one of the main motivations for the craze for American history which is currently sweeping our land.

What I want to explore here tonight are the true reasons for this new enthusiasm and what it signifies—not just for you and me who are actively engaged in historical pursuits but for the great mass of the American public. And let there be no doubt in anyone's mind that the great mass of Americans are indeed involved!

Hardly a decade ago history was almost universally regarded

\* Speech given before a joint meeting of The Maryland Historical Society and The Society for the Preservation of Maryland Antiquities Baltimore, January 13, 1958. Mr. Parton is Publisher of *American Heritage* (see "Contributors.").



as "dry as dust," professional historians were men without much honor save in the Halls of Academe, Historical Societies were standard Hollywood symbols for any group of old fuddy-dufs, and the flow of visitors through many of the nation's most beautifully preserved old houses would not have worn a hole in the entrance hall rug for another hundred years.

Now—Lord love it!—everything to do with history has suddenly become big business. All of you in this room are intimately aware of this phenomenon, for nowhere is it more evident than in the astounding statistics of attendance at historic sites. Your own Fort McHenry had no less than 653,682 visitors last year. Another famous Fort—Ticonderoga—last summer had 280,000 visitors, an increase of 53% over five years ago, and 236% more than in 1947. Your neighbor, Virginia, the State with the biggest array of historic sites, logged 30,000,000 visitors to them during 1957. Mount Vernon alone now has over 1,000,000 visitors each year. The National Park Service figures that over 20,000,000 per year visit the 110 historic areas it administers throughout the nation. Exact figures for the nation as a whole are almost impossible to come by, but informed guesses indicate that the number of people traveling to America's historic sites in 1958 will exceed one-half the total population.

There is similar evidence in the statistics of historical writings. In 1956 Americans spent \$15 million to buy copies of approximately 550 books on our history. Hastings House, the fine New York firm which published your own recent *Picture History of Baltimore*, finds it lucrative to concentrate almost entirely on books of American history. I venture to guess, your book will enjoy a sale which only a few years ago would have been deemed impossible. *American Heritage* of course demonstrates the same point—if you will forgive a brief "commercial." Our subscription list has grown from 10,000 in 1954 to 300,000 today, and the end is by no means in sight. We printed 200,000 copies of our recent book on *Great Historic Places* and have sold all but 7,000 in the three months since the book appeared. We anticipate an equally large sale on the big book on *The Revolution* we are now readying for publication next September.

What is the meaning of this phenomenon? Why in tumultuous, stimulating 1958 are Americans so fascinated by yesteryear? Is

this just a momentary fad, like Tom Thumb golf or Mah Jongg? Could that mid-Western editorial writer have been right when he threw up his hands in print the other day and dismissed the whole thing as "mass historia?" Could it be that we are all reacting to what the new cult of Motivational Research specialists call "ego-gratification" or "sub-conscious pre-conditioning" or "womb-seeking?" Or could it be simply that unattractive and unflattering word "escapism?"

Certainly there is obvious justification for all of us to brood about escaping from some of today's ugly realities. Only last week, in his State of the Union speech, President Eisenhower spelled out why these are times of world-wide terror. And if all the rumor-factories are right about the so-called Gaither Report we may soon be spending more in one year on bomb shelters than the entire 300-years' accumulated value of our historic sites. Perhaps, in that event, your Society for the Preservation of Antiquities will change its name to the Society for the Construction of Hydrogen Hide-aways!

Small wonder that the calamity-howlers are abroad in our land! Our future may be simply one blinding flash. The food we eat may be—dread word—radioactive. If there never is an atomic holocaust, world-population will soon outstrip world food supplies and we shall all starve. Inflation will never stop its upward spiral. Our schools and colleges will soon have no teachers because they can earn more money in factories. Even in the South Seas, the traditional hideaway of the lotus-eater, there is no longer even a Dutchman's chance for peace.

There's just *no* place to hide.

Fight your way to the South Pole, and what do you find?—A hot meal, hot bath, warm bed *and* the latest news of world-wide woe.

There's *no* place to hide—and this is especially so in Baltimore. Here is traditional battle ground. You've been directly involved in all America's past wars and there's every reason to think you'll be in the next one. In fact, you already are. I remind you that Baltimore is the locus not only of a remarkable list of historic shrines and monuments but also of the Martin Aircraft Company, maker of major missiles of destruction and therefore a primary target for them too. One could even be on the way across the

polar wastes or from a submerged submarine right this very minute!

I don't see any of you ducking. So I take it we agree that the only possible attitude which can make life faceable if all the calamity-howling is to be taken literally is the one you and I wear tonight—one of arrant bravado in the face of disaster.

I, for one, do not take the calamity-howlers that literally, and my guess is that a very small percentage of intelligent Americans do. Not that I mean to suggest that we should all have complacent confidence in America's lucky star. We cannot rely forever on Lord Bryce's derisive description: "Providence has under its special care children, idiots, and the United States of America." We cannot just snap our fingers at potential calamity.

You may have heard about the middle-aged executive under considerable strain who developed an incessant habit of snapping his fingers. At last his family prevailed on him to see a psychiatrist. After the preliminary formalities of getting the new patient comfortably ensconced on the couch, the doctor asked:

"Now, my friend, can you remember what it was that started you snapping your fingers?"

"Oh certainly! It was to keep the lions away."

"But there aren't any lions within 10,000 miles of here!"

"Yes, I know," the patient replied. "Effective, isn't it?"

In short, I do not believe that America's new hunger for rediscovering the past can simply be attributed to wanting to forget the present. We are a realistic race, accustomed to hazard, ready for rough and tumble, selfish at some times, bumptious at others but, generally speaking, dedicated to the noble causes of human dignity and freedom and quick to rally to their defense. We are not escapists in the sense of shirking our duty.

Yet, now and again, every man needs to get away, needs to forget his duties, needs to clear his mind, and, so doing, to refresh his imagination, recharge his determination, and refurbish his capacity to handle his job when he returns to it. What more natural way to do this than through nostalgia—to think back to easier, happier times in your own life or to ruffle through the pages of our nation's extraordinary history. This is not escapism. It *is* escape.

Let's try using the escape-hatch of history right now and see what we find. Let's pretend for a few minutes that we have gone back a century. From this moment, the date is 1858.

Suddenly the broad highways grow empty, crack apart and return to winding trails and woodlands. The cities shrink, the pace grows slower and, before our eyes, the spinning world, with its galaxies of nations and peoples and its infinity of events, swells large again. Pressing our journey backward through the long corridors of the decades, leaving behind us the crash of war and upheaval of social change, we arrive, a century ago, in a strange, far country; but not as explorers. For if the scene is sometimes baffling, sometimes outrageous, it also tugs at our hearts and mists our eyes. We have been here before.

The first thing we notice, waking suddenly in 1858, is the tremendous quiet, a forgotten silence that stuns the ear. All the electric power of the earth has ceased to throb; the horns, the blaring radios, the power mower next door and the vacuum cleaner downstairs, the airplane overhead, the roar of traffic, all that background hum which we of 1958 accept unconsciously as part of the cosmos, all is still. Then, after a moment's readjustment, the sounds of the past assert themselves, the buzzing of bees in the honeysuckle, the rooster proclaiming his strength, the distant clip-clop of a horse, a boy whistling, the scream of the morning train rolling out of the depot for its run to the junction.

Looking out at the Maryland scene, we find a kind of stage set erected, and in a minute we recollect its authors. They are Currier and Ives. It is their artless lithographs, a little neater, a little more idyllic than life, which paint the self-portrait of 1858 America. Here are the tidy little towns, the prosperous farms and castellated suburban villas, the shady streets swarming with gentlemen in long jackets and stovepipe hats and ladies in great belled-out skirts. Everybody in 1858 is wearing the hoop, be it reinforced with wire or whalebone, steel or simply wood, and it is a matter of remark already, especially to visitors from class-conscious Europe, that many a serving maid wears them too. When the breeze springs up, as it never does in Currier and Ives, the hoops are a little frisky. The breeze, too, carries with it strong, faintly familiar odors, for this is an age innocent of sanitation, of plumbing and street-cleaning, an age, to be candid, which has not yet been

entirely sold on the merits or even the morality of too frequent bathing.

The lithographers of the day give us a bird's eye view of the whole of Baltimore, in a quaint perspective that shows the gingerbread "palace" steamers loading at the wharves; the high-stepping eight-wheelers just behind; the boys sledding on East Lexington Street; the tall monuments; the offices of the thriving merchants; the imposing residences in wood, granite and brown-stone, of the nabobs, with towers, columns and an occasional porte-cochere. Off on one side, not clearly developed by the artist, is a more crowded district, inhabited by the mill workers. Just beyond this is "Darktown" whose residents—if we are to believe Mr. Currier and Mr. Ives—are happy-go-lucky comics forever adventuring in chicken houses, dancing with athletic gusto to a whacking mandolin, strutting behind the local militia as it drills on the town green, and aping the white folks in one hilarious episode after another.

Is this really a world full of prosperity, of happy children and married domesticity? Are the less fortunate really so carefree? Is America this pious and patriotic and virtuous, a land where every statesman is a village Pericles and every soldier an Horatius in his youth and a Cincinnatus when age has snowed his hair? Can we accept as pure reportage the millennial joy and dignity pictured in the lithographer's *Four Seasons of Life*, the children playing at the stile by the sun-dappled brook, the young man in his strength plowing the rich soil, the happy young-marrieds, the benign elders philosophizing—doubtless over Beecher's sermons—on the piazza?

Later generations would know better. But to the Yankee merchants, Northern farmers, Western plainmen or Southern planters of 1858, all this is not a dream but a prophecy, a vision vouchsafed and often nearly achieved beyond the river or just past the next range of hills. In their hearts, the perfection of the social order is, if not at hand, just around the corner. Never, they believe, has there been such progress, in government, in science, in invention, in the moral order of life. As all peoples do, they see what they want to; they have distilled the useful but faintly impious age of reason into an age of improvement and propriety. Beyond the seas they have plowed a new promised land; symbolically their powerful



divines call it a new Israel, a new Jerusalem, and the words of the gospel fall easily from their lips, as they name their children, the Ezekiels, the Jeremiahs, the Isaiahs, for the prophets of Jehovah. Scratch an American and there is a being wrapped in a sense of his mission. The same hand that guided Moses, and brought the Barons to Runnymede, and preserved William Bradford in the wilderness, lies on them still. They believe in good and evil, not behaviorism, or complexes, *id* and *ego* to them are merely Latin pronouns. And if often they seem self-seeking, if they depart from the Path, yet the image floats before them. They hold the future in trust, which shall be true and righteous altogether.

It is a belief they do not hesitate to express, these Americans, in words like destiny and empire, and the seeming presumption either angers or amuses visitors from other lands. One such, an Englishman, comes to supper in an American inn. The innkeeper, who is, to the visitor's intense amusement, also the local general of militia, appears and, in strident tones, calls the diners to order.

"Gentlemen!" he cries, "We are a great people!" Then he reads the menu.

Another Englishman, stopping at an American hotel, seeks diplomatically to find a conversational topic pleasing to the natives who surround him. Providence, he ventures, seemed to have called on the two Anglo-Saxon nations to civilize the globe. Quickly an American brushes him and his Pax Britannica aside:

"Two nations! Guess there's only one, stranger; going to annex that little island of yours one of them fine days; don't know how little Vic will like that, but got to do it, and no mistake about that!"

It is in America, as the stream of foreign visitors and commentators all notice in different ways, that a new society is being created. Everything is building and speculation, clatter and "go-ahead" and a new language to express these things is springing to life. One genial financier tells Captain Marryat, the English traveller, that, if he had taken up a certain speculation, he would not only have doubled and trebled his money, he would also have "fourbled and fivebled" it. The American outlook seems to alternate between scorn for European ways and a feeling of having surpassed them. Are European marriages "arranged?" Well

none of that nonsense over here. Boys and girls, often quite unchaperoned, go about together in ways so free as to shock Europeans. The servant problem for the diplomatic set in Washington is impossible, quite impossible. No American, reports Harriet Martineau, will wear livery.

Yet if the Americans disdain aristocracy, they use its language constantly. The words "fashionable" and "aristocratic," noted Dickens with malicious glee, are always on the tongues of this upstart nation, describing the meanest village yeomanry or the least prepossessing boarding house. A surprising number of Americans, too busy to settle down, live in these remarkable establishments, on a greasy, vitamin-free diet to which only distance lends enchantment.

The contrasts, indeed, flabbergast many commentators—the boast and the fact, the prim and the uncouth, the slave and the free, side by side. The handful of stately buildings set down in Washington amid empty lots and frame shanties, the whole lining muddy "avenues" and "circles" that seem to mock the grandiose plan of the city-planner. The glorious words of the great Declaration—the South's "peculiar institution!" The railroad with the resounding name, ending with "and Pacific," which so far goes ten miles! Can either dream be fulfilled?

Dickens could hardly stand us, though he did describe Barnum's Hotel in Baltimore as the "most comfortable in the U. S." Visiting in the previous decade, he spared neither our feelings nor our pretensions. Passing through Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, he reports receiving, with what must have been thinly veiled disgust, some members of the state senate. One smothered the carpet with tobacco juice, another blew his nose with his fingers and a third carefully explained to the novelist that this assembly of lawgivers in which they sat "corresponds to your House of Lords."

America swarms with strange cults and movements which express the ferment of ideas. There are spiritualists, phrenologists, mesmerists, Fundamentalists, and Mormons digging tablets from the soil. Feminists like Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony and pantalooned Amelia Bloomer declaim against the rule of Man, who either forces woman onto her ridiculous pedestal or works her to death at a third of a man's wages.

But there is no questioning the future. Some five million immi-

grants have come to America—Irishmen, Germans, Britons, Scandinavians, a sprinkling of others, since 1815—and our population has quadrupled. (England's, for the same period, is up less than 50%.) When a commercial and financial panic swept the country late in 1857 Fanny Kemble, the English actress who had married and divorced the owner of a Southern plantation, writes home to England from New York an interesting comment: "It is impossible," she says, "to conceive anything so curious to one on the spot, to whom the real positive wealth and prosperity of the country is . . . obvious." And in the same year, James Mursell Phillippo makes a thoughtful prophecy: By the end of the century, the United States will contain 100,000,000 people. In another half century, he decides, "she will almost indubitably be the most powerful government on earth."

Here in Baltimore in 1858 life is not only prosperous but gracious and genteel, as befits a city whose population has grown to 212,418 and ranks as the third biggest in the land. Look at us, for example, assembled for an after-dinner lecture. I regret that the ladies would not be here—Susan Anthony had not yet made much of a dent on Maryland. But the men—ah, the men! We would have checked our stovepipe hats, but we would still wear our gloves as we sat down to a vast dinner, much of which we would have eaten, quite properly, with our knives. The menu would have read something like this one from the 1850's recently recorded in *American Heritage* by Gerald Carson: "cold oysters, Oyster Pâtés, Hock wine offered; boiled and baked Fish, Pass the wine; next, boiled Turkey, roast Mutton, Veal with Peas and Ham; Sweet Bread and Croquettes; then Wine and Roman Punch. After Course, two pair Canvas-Back Ducks, two pair Grouse, Wood Cocks and Quails, with Salad. Blanc Mange, Jelly, Baked and Frozen Pudding, etc. etc., with Ice Cream, Grapes, Pears, Apples, Oranges, and Ornamental Sweets from the Confectioner."

As Mr. Carson commented: "If any good thing was said later in the evening, it is doubtful if it was heard by the liverish company, who had far more need of Huxham's tincture of quassia or a mechanical manipulation of the epigastrium, than of an epigram."

Now, we are sitting back with cigars thrust through the beards at least half of us sport, mindful of the dictum in the *Illustrated*

*Manners Book* of 1855: "Nature gave man a beard for use and beauty, and marked the softer graces and more exquisite delicacy of women by want of it. Shaving the face renders it effeminate." While waiting for the lecture to begin, your conversation would not have touched on anything that mattered—purposely not, for gentlemen in society "avoided controversial questions such as religion, politics or morals because they can give rise to angry and endless and useless contests." Presently some of you will ride home in the Cadillac of 1858—a phaeton drawn by a pair of spanking bays with a coachman and groom in the livery box. Others will use the 1858 version of a Thunderbird—a light carriage, or trap, with silver moldings and yellow wheels, drawn by a fast and frisky horse.

Now, how do you feel? Replete, quiet, tranquillized, a little smug, almost ready to face another day of 1858? Has this brief escape through nostalgia really made you yearn for "the good old days?" Do you wish you could *stay on* in the serene and secure Baltimore of 1858?

Well, just in case any of you really do feel that way, let me now give you a glimpse of the other side of the coin—some of the realities of life in 1858 that Currier and Ives either did not see or else chose not to record.

For example, you can't talk basic issues with many of your neighbors without coming to blows. Baltimore is a city divided. It has strong ties with both North and South. Most people here deplore the increasing talk of secession. But we are also equally determined in our opposition to the Abolitionist talk of using force against the Southern states with which we are traditionally aligned.

Stick to local politics and you're still in trouble. Fresh in our minds are the elections two years ago, when several Baltimore political clubs—appropriately tagged with such names as "The Plug Uglies," "The Rip-Raps," or "The Tigers"—were so persuasive with the voters that eight people were killed and 250 injured. It was a brutal, disgraceful incident. We are still ashamed of it here tonight in 1858.

And, despite our chesty certainty about America's manifest destiny, we are also, all of us, genuinely scared of the immediate future. President Buchanan is weak, and the United States are

drifting—nay, rushing—towards ugly chaos. Buchanan has failed to deal wisely or effectively either with such general problems as States Rights or such particular crises as civil strife in Kansas. Even as we sit here in gentlemanly discourse tonight the bearded fanatic who led Kansas lynching parties is planning to capture Harpers Ferry next October. No honest man can see a safe path out of the present mess of misunderstanding and malice.

What's more, you and I are in immediate physical danger right here in this lecture hall! The water or milk we sipped at the feast an hour ago were worse than radio-active, for the fine, cut-glass goblets we used may well have been crawling with typhoid germs, and there is no known cure. If we get out of this wooden fire-trap, the tree-lined streets we'll canter through on the way home will reek with filth, abound in rats and ownerless dogs. The chap sitting next to you does not have Asiatic Flu, but could likely have tuberculosis. TB is currently killing one-sixth of the U. S. population. Few of us have very long to live, in any case. Our average life expectancy here in Baltimore in January 1858 is only 40. No wonder we tend to be tolerant of our many noisome saloons, our thriving red-light districts. No wonder we exhibit a certain devil-may-care, gather-ye-rose-buds demeanor!

Now are you so content with "the good old days?" Is nostalgia so real an escape? Before you decide, let me be sure you realize, O gentlefolk of 1858, that things are about to get much, much worse! Business will be bad. Government will not improve. Hate will burgeon. Right here in Baltimore three years and two months from today will come the first bloodshed of the Civil War.

It happens that a great-uncle of mine was here in Baltimore on that fateful day. His name was Mortimer Thomson and he was a correspondent for Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune*. He had made a bit of a name for himself back in 1859 by covering in disguise and at considerable personal risk the great slave auction at the Carolina plantation of Pierce Butler, who had recently been divorced by Fanny Kemble. Thomson's story of that auction did a lot to whip up Abolitionist feeling in New York and New England.

Thomson had a real nose for news. It led him, on April 18, 1861, to the curb near the corner of Gay and Pratt Streets. You have all heard the story of what he saw that day. But, if we



are to live up to the rules of the game of escape we are playing, it is proper for me to tell it briefly again.

Imagine the local scene and the national situation. In Washington a new president widely regarded as a backwoods buffoon has been in office only six weeks. On his way from Ohio to take the oath of office the President-elect has cancelled a speaking engagement in Baltimore and slips through the city in secrecy at dawn because his bodyguard, a detective named Pinkerton, has well-founded reasons for suspecting some of us will try to assassinate him. Now, barely a month later, secession, long threatened, has actually begun. Federal troops have just been flung out of Fort Sumter, and Mr. Lincoln has issued an emergency call for volunteers to protect him and the Federal Government in Washington. There is only one fully-equipped regiment in the entire North—the Sixth Massachusetts Infantry, 4,000 strong. Massachusetts is the fountainhead of Abolitionist ardor. Within six days after the President's alarm, the Sixth Massachusetts has been mustered and is on its way.

On the morning of April 19, 1861, about a thousand of these Massachusetts men, plus some volunteers who joined them in Philadelphia, arrive at the President Street Depot and begin to transfer to the Camden Station of the B & O in horse-drawn cars along the track through Pratt Street. Sullen crowds line the way. For weeks the cauldron of public sentiment has been boiling. We have a special grudge against Massachusetts. And we don't like the idea of letting Yankee boys through to fight our "Southern brothers." At Gay Street there is a pile of paving blocks. Someone throws one, and the lid blows off the cauldron.

Of Baltimore's 212,000 people, probably no more than 3,000 are in the attacking mob. Our Mayor bravely tried to quell the disorder, and most responsible citizens are horrified by it. But the forces revealed in that nasty little fight are too big for anyone to suppress. They can only be quelled by four years of the bloodiest war in history. Before the day is done in Baltimore, 13 men of the town and four from the Sixth Massachusetts are dead.

Heavy anchors dragged from the wharves are laid across Pratt Street to block the cars. Nonetheless, all but two of the cars eventually get through to the Camden Station. The faces of the soldiers can be seen through the windows, streaming with blood

from cuts from the shattered glass. The troops in the last two cars have to get out and march. For a while Mayor Brown, only an umbrella in his hand, is able to lead them through the crowd. But the bridge across Jones Falls has been barricaded, someone fires, the troops present arms and fire a volley in reply—and the riot is on in earnest. The crowd scatters looking for arms, but the armories are all shut tight. One gang enters the gun store of Mr. J. C. J. Meyer, who, with tears in his eyes, protests that he is a Southerner and lets them load up.

At the corner of Fawn Street two soldiers are felled by stones. At Light Street there is another volley and a boy named William Reed, a hand on the oyster sloop *Wild Pigeon* of York County, Virginia, gets a minnie ball through his belly from which he shortly dies in the schooner's hold.

Other citizens killed include James Clark of the No. 1 Hook and Ladder Company, who is shot through the head; James Myers; John McCann, a Mr. Flannery, a Mr. Maloney. One of the dead soldiers has the appropriate Boston name of Francis X. Ward. The Baltimore *Sun* reports that another soldier, dying, mutters: "I have got what I deserve. I left a peaceful and happy home to come here and invade the land of my brother." Still another soldier, wounded in the leg, is asked why he had come and replies: "Oh, the Flag—the Stars and Stripes."

After it was all over and the battered Sixth Massachusetts had moved on to Washington and to History, Mortimer Thomson, my ancestor, picked up a sad little souvenir which my family has cherished ever since and which I have brought with me tonight. Here it is—a frail silk ribbon reading "1775" at the top and "1861" at the bottom, with "Massachusetts" up the middle. The boy who wore it bravely on his chest as he set off across Baltimore that day was one of those either killed or wounded in the riot, for here, just by the "s" in "Massachusetts," is the faint, brown stain of his blood.

Ever since I was a kid I have had a sense of hushed excitement and reverence that my family was privileged to own a veritable sample of the first blood shed in The War Between the States. So you see, I value this little piece of blood-stained silk very much. It is a symbol of something of transcendent importance in the development of our land.

April 19, 1861, lived in Great Uncle Thompson's memory as one of the darkest days of his crowded, tumultuous life. For his war—and our war, had we really lived then—was worse in many ways than any you and I have seen. Perhaps one in every four or five men at our pretended banquet of 1858 are to be killed or maimed by it, and just about every woman in the best Baltimore families is doomed to live out her life with a tragedy held close to her heart. The survivors among us—and our sons, and theirs—will not outlive the impact of the impending fratricide. Think of it—a nation of but 31,000,000 souls lost more than 500,000 of its best. Three times that number were wounded.

Suppose the United States had sustained 10 *million* casualties in World War II? It amounts to the same thing.

\* \* \* \*

So we have run backwards to escape today and have found ourselves worse off. Happily, let us now come back again to our own age—to 1958. Not too bad now, is it? Everybody eats, everybody goes to school. Maybe the Organization Man is no more frustrated than was The Man with a Hoe. We *do* live longer. We *do* know more. We *are* better off, physically at least.

More important, do we not come back from yesteryear to today with a fresh sense of the wondrous tenacity of the American idea? After all, dark as things looked in 1858, we know there *was* a great future ahead; we know the great American dream grew and prospered and reached around the world. A century ago we saw our Great Experiment tested to the brink of destruction—yet it survived. Need we call it an experiment any longer? Need we doubt its strength today?

There, I suggest, is our excuse for escaping from today by taking refuge in our heritage. It *is* a refuge. It is *not* escapism, in any cowardly sense.

Bruce Catton put the thought in homely words when he wrote: "Everything that we do in America is built on the lives of people we ourselves never saw. Our homes, food, clothing, schools, jobs—the games we play and the songs we sing, the very ideas we have about ourselves and the world we live in—all these have grown out of the things millions of Americans did in a time before our own. When we try to find out how these people lived, we are really trying to find out what we ourselves are all about."

And a couple of thousand years ago Dionysius of Halicarnassus said the same thing in sterner style: "History is philosophy learned from examples."

Surely, if we Americans are to acquire perspective and a sense of balance in these days of unfriendly moons and Martin rockets, we need look no farther than our own past. In Baltimore we need look no farther than Gay and Pratt Streets, or Fort McHenry—a place where we have already withstood the rocket's red glare.

So, really, in taking refuge in history or in escaping to the past, we are trying to peer into the future. We assure ourselves that our past was built on faith and courage and endurance and that by and large it was good. We return to today refreshed in spirit and renewed in confidence that our future, if it is built the same way, will be good also.

How the Baltimorean of 1858 would be astounded if he were here today! He might not be surprised by such things as the automobile, the airplane, the telephone, the cinema, even television; for many of them had been envisioned by the prophets of his time, much as we today speculate about space travel, and all of them were at least consistent with the laws of Isaac Newton. But the world beneath the microscope—the world of bacteria and viruses and the chemical war mankind has learned to wage against them—all this would have been a true revelation. As for the sub-microscopic world of the atom, the hatching ground of the bomb and of limitless energy, the man of 1858 would have stood bewildered by forces which not only tax the belief but defy the laws of the cosmos he took for solid fact.

Mankind, says Toynbee, is like a climber scaling a steep cliff through clouds. Looking down, he can see the slope behind him vanishing into the fog of pre-history. Above he sees only the swirling clouds, with a glimpse of sunnier skies beyond. It is no easier today than it was a hundred years ago to discern the shape of things to come. In the realm of art and thought the future is pure speculation. Just as no man of 1858 could possibly have predicted Picasso or jazz or Freudian psychology, so no one today can foresee the fruits of man's creative imagination in 2058. In worldly affairs prediction is more possible, or at least more tempting. Political thinkers may predict, as Toynbee does, the emergence of a world state, and economists may forecast, as the

Twentieth Century Fund does, an American standard of living seven times the present level. But the ghosts of Woodrow Wilson and Thomas Robert Malthus rise to warn us of the dark and complex forces that can make rubbish of all such visions. Only perhaps in the field of science and technology, where future realities flow in some predictable course from present possibilities, can the prophet feel some measure of assurance in his vision.

Perhaps the greatest surprise for a prophet of 1858 would be to compare his general state of mind with that of a prophet like himself in 1958. For despite all the perils and hardships and miseries of his life, the man of 1858, in America at least, viewed the future with boundless optimism. He believed that the future would be better than the past and he saw human history as a steady climb, by the light of reason, to ever higher levels of well-being and happiness. The man of 1958, despite all the vast material progress, the wonders of science, the conquest of disease and the lengthening of life, has seen too many disappointments and horrors, and lives too close to the threat of nuclear doom, to retain the belief that progress is automatic. He is not so sure of reason as a faithful guide for man's journey, and he fears that the future will be worse than the past.

Perhaps the most cheering lesson we can all learn from taking refuge in history is that the man of 1958 is just as likely to be wrong as the man of 1858.

Let us therefore live up to our history. Let's look back for reassurance, then ahead with pride and resolution. That's what our heritage is *for*.



## THE DRAWINGS AND ALLEGORIES OF MAXIMILIAN GODEFROY

By ROBERT L. ALEXANDER

ALTHOUGH he was already forty when he turned to the practice of architecture for a livelihood, Maximilian Godefroy left a small group of creditable works which have established his reputation in this field.<sup>1</sup> The best known of these are the First Unitarian Church, St. Mary's Seminary and the Battle Monument, all in Baltimore. Godefroy also taught drawing and sold some of his own executions. His total production of drawings must have been rather small, and he is deservedly less well known for them, judging from those which have survived. They are not great examples of art, but they do merit careful study because from them it is possible to measure better Godefroy's artistic range and also catch glimpses of his personality, left in shadows by the written records. In addition, his drawings and allegories reflect artistic standards and taste during those early culture-conscious years of nineteenth-century America.

This study is primarily based on Godefroy's existing drawings, some engravings, and a few written descriptions of pieces now lost. In using this material it is sometimes necessary to cross from one group to the other, a reliable procedure since it is but one creative mind which is revealed in all the work. Given the limitations on an individual's imagination (and Godefroy's was quite limited), it is reasonable to expect the same ideas and motives to crop up in successive works, especially if the creator thought them successful and effective.

We shall begin with the lengthy description Godefroy wrote of one of his drawings exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy in 1811:

<sup>1</sup> Dorothy Mackay Quynn presents much new biographical information on Godefroy and cites previous studies in "Maximilian and Eliza Godefroy," *MAHM*, LII (1957), 1-34.

This drawing is intended to be engraved as a vignette for the Diplomas of St. Mary's University, Baltimore. The subject represents *Minerva* crowning with one hand the *Genius of Belles Lettres*, and with the other extending her shield over a Bee hive, whence issues a swarm of bees. It bears a legend with these words of Virgil, "Gentis adultos educunt fetus" En. lib. 1. On the right of the Goddess is the *Genius of the Sciences*, who contemplates her whilst in the attitude of measuring the sphere, and the *Genius of the Fine Arts* is employed in painting the scene. Meanwhile the *American Eagle* soars upward from an olive tree, the symbol of peace, and puts to flight the harpies of prejudice and ignorance, dissipating the darkness they had shed. Also a vessel *agitated* by the waves of a tempestuous sea, to show the application of the Arts and Sciences to *commerce* and *navigation*. On the left of Minerva are seen the *Attributes* and *Instruments* of the *Mathematics*, of *Natural Philosophy*, *Astronomy*, *Navigation*, *Music*, ancient and modern, of *Chemistry* and *Botany*. In the background is a correct view of the *Temple of Apollo* at *Delphos*, and the *Parnassian Mount*, surrounded by *Pegasus* and the *Temple of Mercury*; whence proceeds the light which reflects upon the piece.<sup>2</sup>

It is hardly necessary to comment on the complex, almost tortured nature of a symbolism that requires such a detailed explanation.

Among his works in the 1813 exhibition Godefroy entitled one "An allegorical drawing." Done for Edward Coale of Baltimore, it was to be a frontispiece for his intended publication *Mnemonika*. The brief description reads: "It represents the *genius of study* descending into the caverns of *Time*, and rending the veil which conceals the ruins of antiquity; . . ." <sup>3</sup> It shares with the diploma vignette a general respect for the power of antiquity, an interest in the conflict of light and darkness, and the device of an allegorical figure.

These two descriptions can be more closely related by the frontispiece design by Godefroy which Coale did use for volumes III and IV of *The Portico* in 1817. An allegorical figure seated at the water's edge may be identified as America by the feathered headdress.<sup>4</sup> The rest of the composition, however, was derived from the 1811 exhibition piece. The eagle presents to America a lyre symbolizing music in particular and the arts in general; the flame rising from his head is an age-old sign of creativity. In

<sup>2</sup> *First Annual Exhibition of the Society of Artists of the United States. 1811* (Philadelphia, [1811]), pp. 19-20.

<sup>3</sup> *Third Annual Exhibition of the Columbian Society of Artists and the Pennsylvania Academy. 1813* (Philadelphia, 1813), p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> James Hazen Hyde, "L'Iconographie des Quatre Parties du Monde," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, ser. v, X (1924), 256-58.

his talons the eagle holds arrows representing the power that forces "the harpies of prejudice and ignorance" down into the clouds of darkness. Beside America are the plow of agriculture, the rudder of navigation, and the bundled goods of commerce. In the distance are Pegasus and the mounts and temples of antiquity. It is difficult for us to see the shafts of light which cut across the picture as proceeding from antiquity, although this may well be exactly the interpretation intended by Godefroy; they act visually as a plane separating the ancient and modern worlds.

In these three works spread over six or seven years Godefroy employed a vocabulary of symbols with very specific literary meanings. In resurrecting elements of an unused design and adapting them to another purpose, he displayed both an economy and a pride in his ability to express concepts which were characteristic of his times and his own turn of thought by a very literal rendering of figures of speech in pictorial images, for example, "the harpies of prejudice and ignorance." Obviously some of the images, such as the allegorical figures, were in common use and received only a special application from Godefroy, but once entered into his vocabulary they were employed in other phases of his activity. On his Battle Monument of 1814 he placed a large allegorical figure representing Baltimore, holding the ancient rudder to symbolize navigation, accompanied by the American eagle. Early descriptions of the Monument emphasized the allegorical nature of every detail in this work, even to the fillets of the fasces which alluded to the soldiers who died and by their deaths strengthened the Union.<sup>5</sup>

One particular composition displays some of the familiar elements of his imagery and also reinforces an allegory with a realistic representation. This is a vignette which Godefroy designed about 1814-15 for the policy of the Baltimore Fire Insurance Company.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> See especially the descriptions in *Niles' Weekly Register*, Apr. 29, 1815, and Sept. 7, 1822, and the *Port Folio*, 4th ser., I (1816), 1-12.

<sup>6</sup> After 1813 Godefroy customarily identified himself with the honorific title "P. A." (Pennsylvania Academy); "1814-15" is a hypothetical date. The Company was incorporated in 1807, but the vignette was not engraved until much later. The firm Danforth, Bald & Co., given as the engravers of this plate, functioned 1850-52; George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America 1564-1860* (New Haven, 1957), pp. 23-24. Perhaps the engraving of 1850-52 was the replacement of an old worn-out plate.

This composition offers some information on Godefroy's earliest architecture.

The main figure, derived from his favorite goddess Minerva, who is identified by such attributes as the helmet, shield, and breast-plate, is an allegorical figure standing for the Company itself. The application is made more specific by her winged heels, no doubt an allusion to the speed with which the Company aided its insurees after disaster. An eagle, on the ready, perches beside her on a fountain shaped as the lower part of a column, from which gushes that prime necessity for fire-fighting, a stream of water. The eagle and the figure hover protectively over a barrel and bales of goods and other symbols of commercial value. A building under construction at the left is balanced by a burning structure at the right while around the allegorical figure are crowds of people bringing apparatus and fighting the fire. As a result, the meaning of the large allegorical device is emphasized by a representation of the actual activity.

All four of these works represent small commissions which supplemented Godefroy's perennially insufficient income from teaching. Other examples of such commissions are known: *The Old Court House and Powder Magazine* and the design for the company flag of the Columbian Volunteers, both of 1819.<sup>7</sup> Presumably other designs exist unrecognized, while still others were probably never reproduced as originally planned.

Behind the eagle stands a building clearly based on his Chapel for St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, 1806. Between this illustration and both the early rendering by Godefroy and the existing building, there are some discrepancies, especially in the row of openings on the upper level of the façade and in the type of tower. There is such a strong resemblance, however, that one is justified in identifying the building as the Chapel and in seeing here the cupola and tower originally constructed but long since destroyed. A portion of the Chapel design is reproduced on the cover of *MdHM*, March, 1957. See also Richard B. Howland and Eleanor P. Spencer, *The Architecture of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1953), pp. 40-42 and pls. 27, 28 (the abbreviation *AB* will be used for further references to this book); and William Sener Rusk, "Godefroy and St. Mary's Chapel," *Liturgical Arts*, III (1933), 140-45.

<sup>7</sup> *The Old Court House* was drawn by Godefroy after an earlier view of 1786. (The Court House referred to was demolished 1809-15 and had stood on the present site of the Battle Monument.) Its engravers, Joseph Cone and W. H. Freeman, are elusive figures and the few fixed points in their careers provide only a hypothetical date in the late 1820's for the actual engraving. See David M. Stauffer, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel* ([New York] 1907), I, 53, 91-92 and II, 73, #427; Mantle Fielding, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel* (Philadelphia, 1917), pp. 18, 116; and Groce and Wallace, *op. cit.*, p. 143. When the plate was first used is uncertain; all the copies I have seen were in or from John Pendleton Kennedy's *Address delivered before the Maryland Institute for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts* (Baltimore, 1851).

For the flag of the Columbian Volunteers (the design of which, signed and dated August, 1818, is preserved in the *MdHS*), see Anna Wells Rutledge, "Fling Out the Banner," *Antiques*, XLVII (1945), 38-39.

In contrast, his earliest and largest finished drawing, the *Battle of Pultowa*, 1804-05, was made to while away the time spent at the Château d'If where he was imprisoned for anti-Napoleonic activities.<sup>8</sup> Apparently Godefroy decided at some later date to have this piece reproduced. A Parisian engraver to whom the work was shown, perhaps in the 1830's, commented: "... in most, if not all modern representations of battle, the skill of the Artist is confined to a group in the foreground, representing the commander and his staff; while the rest is but an indistinct perspective—whereas in this, we are introduced into the midst of a broken army with various incidents and episodes of a disastrous field; and how the author contrived to harmonize the effect of such multiplied action, under such disadvantages, was absolutely incomprehensible."<sup>9</sup> This judgment picked out one of the characteristics of Godefroy's pictorial imagination, his interest in a multitude of descriptive, narrative details. Around the injured Charles XII battle rages furiously while in the foreground, amidst the confusion of broken and abandoned military impedimenta, horses struggle and men try to relieve their sufferings or lie in the ungainly poses of violent death. On either side figures continue far into the distant landscape in an incredible profusion of military activities.

The anonymous engraver's comment contains a few points worthy of further consideration. The representation contrasted with standard battle compositions in the diffusion of interest to episodes surrounding the main group, and, despite the difficult working conditions, the artist achieved a notable harmony. A description of Godefroy in 1794 supplements the first point, in-

<sup>8</sup> The *Battle of Pultowa* has the longest and most certain history of Godefroy's works. It was exhibited in the Baltimore Library in the spring and summer of 1807, at the Pennsylvania Academy in 1811, at the Royal Academy in London in 1821, at the Ministry of the Maison du Roi in 1827, and at the Paris Salon in 1833. Shortly afterward it was acquired by Ebenezer Jackson, of Middletown, Conn., a former pupil of Godefroy's at St. Mary's Seminary. It remained in the family until 1957 when Mr. John G. Jackson, Jr., of Mill Neck, L. I., N. Y., presented it to the MdHS. I am much indebted to Mr. Jackson who graciously permitted me to study the work while it was in his possession. For additional history concerning this drawing, see Quynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29.

<sup>9</sup> These remarks are preserved in an old printed leaflet in the possession of Mr. Robert F. Jackson, of Cooperstown, N. Y. To Mr. Jackson, the penultimate private owner of the *Battle of Pultowa*, and to other descendants of Ebenezer Jackson, I owe my thanks for their hospitality and for information offered through correspondence extending in some matters over many years.



forming us that he "was better at making sketches and easy compositions than at bringing the slightest work to a satisfactory conclusion."<sup>10</sup> That the activity served as an escape from idleness during imprisonment helps explain both the amount of detail and the fact that it was completed. At the same time we must recognize that Godefroy lacked the knowledge or ability to compose in a neoclassical manner.

The material difficulties of working in prison have been recited several times.<sup>11</sup> Godefroy had to use some 120 pieces of paper for the drawing, pasting them together during the boat trip to America and adding India ink and sepia washes in Philadelphia. Many of the separate pieces may be explained, however, by his weakness in handling the proportions and foreshortenings in some of the more difficult figures. Some passages, such as heads, were so worked over that patches were required to provide clean working surfaces. His only implement was the "stump of a pen;" but, it may be observed, a "stump" to one man may be a perfectly adequate tool for another. His ink was made from the soot in his stove. This was far from posing a difficulty, as wood soot was the only raw material for bistre, one of the most popular artist's inks for centuries.<sup>12</sup> The recital of these "difficulties" is only an example of Godefroy's exaggerations, made to bring additional interest to the artist's person in the hope of transferring it to the drawing.

Enough works have been presented now to permit the characterization of Godefroy's technique and style. Other drawings may be cited to provide confirmation and expansion of stylistic observations where appropriate. The human figure, for example, is well represented in the pieces already seen. The drawing for the façade of the Chapel of St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore, ca. 1807, and the 1810 design for the Baltimore Washington Monu-

<sup>10</sup> M. E. J. Delécluze, *Louis David: son école et son temps* (Paris, 1855), p. 12, referred to in Rich Borneman, "Some Ledoux-Inspired Buildings in America," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XIII (1954), 15-17. The testimony of Delécluze must be used circumspectly since it is an old man's recollections of his boyhood.

<sup>11</sup> Carolina V. Davison, "Maximilian Godefroy," *MdHM*, XXIX (1934), 211-12; *Maryland History Notes*, XV (1957), 11; see also the article by John C. Schmidt, "Jigsaw Puzzle Painting," *Baltimore Sunday Sun*, Nov. 3, 1957, with an analytical sketch showing most, but not all, of the separate pieces of paper used for the drawing.

<sup>12</sup> James Watrous, *The Craft of Old-Master Drawings* (Madison, Wisc., 1957), pp. 74-78.



ment reveal only more emphatically Godefroy's eighteenth-century origins in the mannered poses of the elongated, svelte, and flowingly draped figures.<sup>13</sup> In the vignette for the Baltimore Fire Insurance Company there are certain peculiarities which appear fairly consistently in his figures: a hunching of the backs, a tendency to shorten the legs below the knees and to elongate them above, a similar disproportion in the arms, an uneasiness with features. The busy humans around the allegorical figure, in addition, show a blocky awkwardness in their poses and actions. This treatment of the genre figures in contemporary garb may result from contact with either Benjamin Henry Latrobe or Italian artists in Baltimore whose neoclassicism would dilute the belated rococo elements in Godefroy.<sup>14</sup>

Wherever figures appear in the drawings there is an overriding compulsion toward an anecdotal or genre situation. Figures appear to be in conversation, one often making a sweeping gesture, perhaps drawing attention to a piece of architecture or to an action shown elsewhere. The action is not always consonant with the main subject of the drawing, for instance, the wrestling boys in the Washington Monument design.<sup>15</sup> The *Battle of Pultowa* contains a multitude of eye-catching activities. This concern with descriptive and narrative details not only characterizes his use of figures but is an important part of the very literary attitude evident in the allegories.

Landscape, including trees, rocks, and running water, was so prominent in his work that he came to be listed as a specialist in this category for his exhibitions at the Royal Academy in

<sup>13</sup> It is by no means certain that the Chapel drawing in the MdHS is the one which was exhibited in Philadelphia in 1811, or the one Godefroy exhibited in London in 1820 and in Paris in 1827. One drawing of the Chapel was being circulated in Philadelphia as early as January 1807; see the letter by "D" in *The Observer*, I (Feb. 28, 1807), 131-33. Professor Robert C. Smith, of the University of Pennsylvania, has kindly offered the suggestion that "D" may have been Thomas Dorsey, the author of an architectural handbook with Gothic designs.

The Washington Monument design, owned by the Peale Museum, is permanently exhibited in the base of the Monument. I cannot over-thank Wilbur H. Hunter, Jr., and Charles Elam of the Peale Museum for their continued aid and encouragement on a variety of matters connected with Godefroy and Baltimore.

<sup>14</sup> Davison, *op. cit.*, pp. 201-02; and Talbot Hamlin, *Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (New York, 1955), p. 269.

<sup>15</sup> Figures appear in Latrobe's architectural drawings primarily to suggest the scale of his projected buildings. In contrast, Godefroy's figures stand apart from the buildings and call attention to themselves by their overt, irrelevant activities.

London.<sup>16</sup> Whether or not Godefroy studied the works of the great classic landscapist of seventeenth-century France, the long-lived tradition of Claude Lorrain is especially strong in his watercolors and drawings until about 1810. The source of a soft light is rather low and off to one side, out of the picture, so that the trees and figures cast long shadows across the surface plane usually, however, advancing from or receding into the depth of the picture. For trees Godefroy specifies only the trunks and a few main limbs, the remainder being lost in the bushy deciduous foliage rendered in a very French manner with fattened parallel brush marks. Spatial recession is halted by one or two continuous planes across the background, outlined to suggest foliage, but with a minimal differentiation of the parts and separate trees. The muddy color is predominantly bluish, with a heavy reliance on dingy greys and blacks.

Only when close to Latrobe, around 1812, does Godefroy acquire the more English, Gainsborough-like screen of hatching strokes for the leafage, the technique employed for a small landscape in grey watercolor or wash, now in the Maryland Historical Society.<sup>17</sup> Always the allegorist, Godefroy could not refrain from inserting an antique sarcophagus under the cliff. The main foreground element, however, the large tree, is striking in the broad treatment, the clear tonalities, and the loose, fluid brushstrokes—also apparent in the other growing things, bushes, grasses, vines. This technique contrasts with the tight yet indecisive cottony foliage and dense color of earlier pieces, like the Chapel façade drawing and the Washington Monument design. The inscription at the lower right, "Max. Godefroy 1812.," offers some important evidence for explaining the changed technique of this study. It was certainly printed by Latrobe with whom Godefroy was friendly for several years and who stayed with the latter on at least one occasion while visiting in Baltimore.<sup>18</sup> The drawing discloses in both the freer technique and the more English treatment how

<sup>16</sup> Algernon Graves, *A Dictionary of Artists* . . . 3rd ed (London, 1901), p. 112.

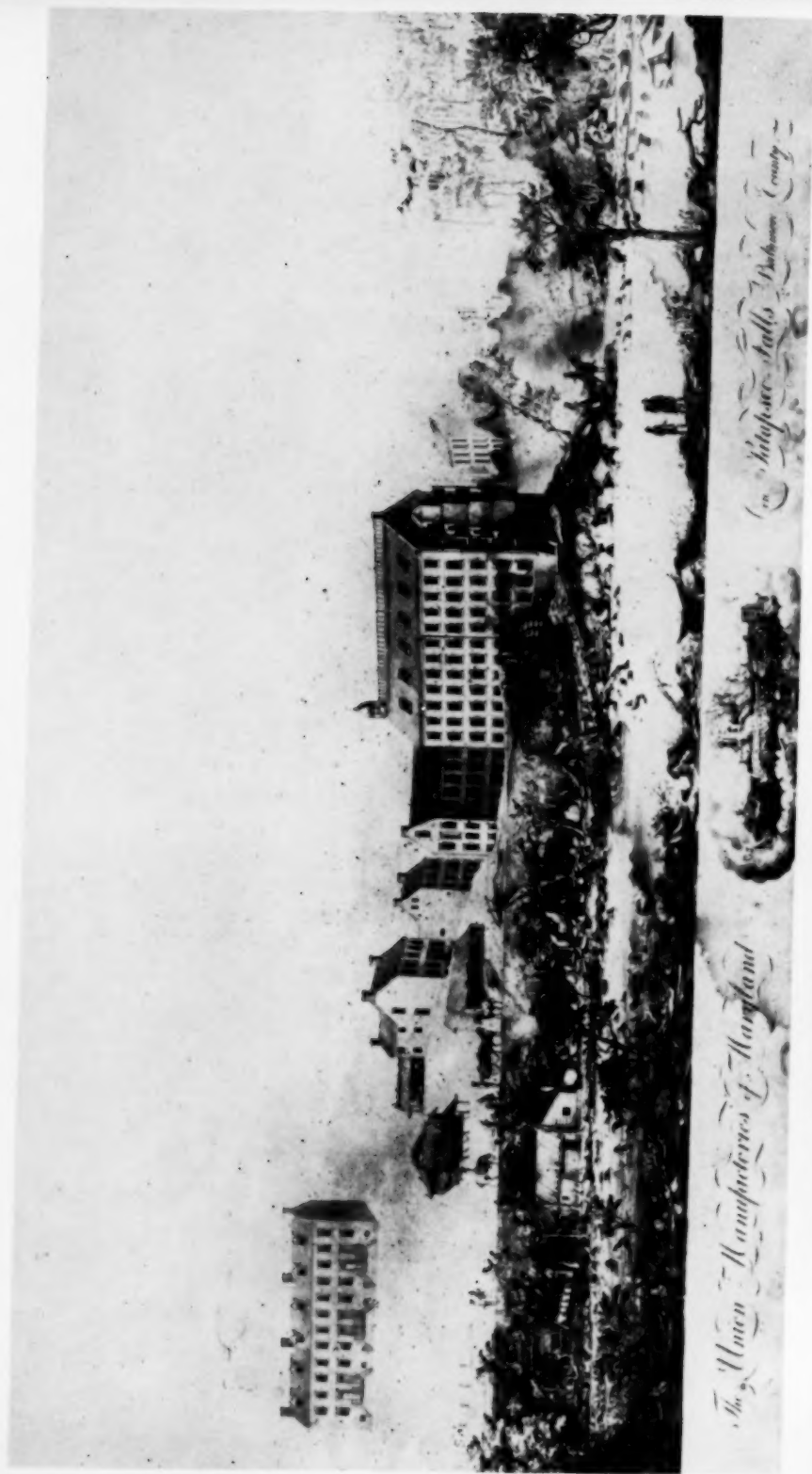
<sup>17</sup> This drawing was given to the MdHS in 1940 by Raphael Semmes along with a number of sketches and drawings once owned by John H. B. Latrobe. See Hamlin, *op. cit.*, chap. 22, "Latrobe as Artist."

<sup>18</sup> Davison, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-10. I attribute the inscription to B. H. Latrobe on the basis of a familiarity with the latter's writing and printing, derived from examining scores of pages of his journals and drawings. A note in the MdHS records Mrs. Ouyenn's opinion that this is not Godefroy's printing.



THE BATTLE OF PULTOWA, 1709

*Drawing by Maximilian Godefroy*

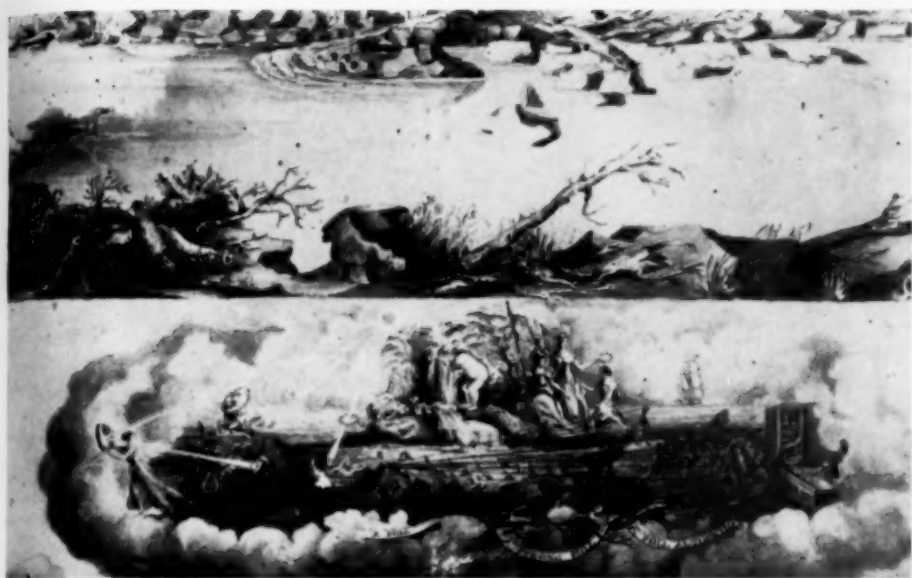


*The Union Manufactures of Maryland*

*(in Baltimore Falls Baltimore County)*

THE UNION MANUFACTORIES OF MARYLAND ON PATAPSCO FALLS

*Drawing by Maximilian Godefroy*

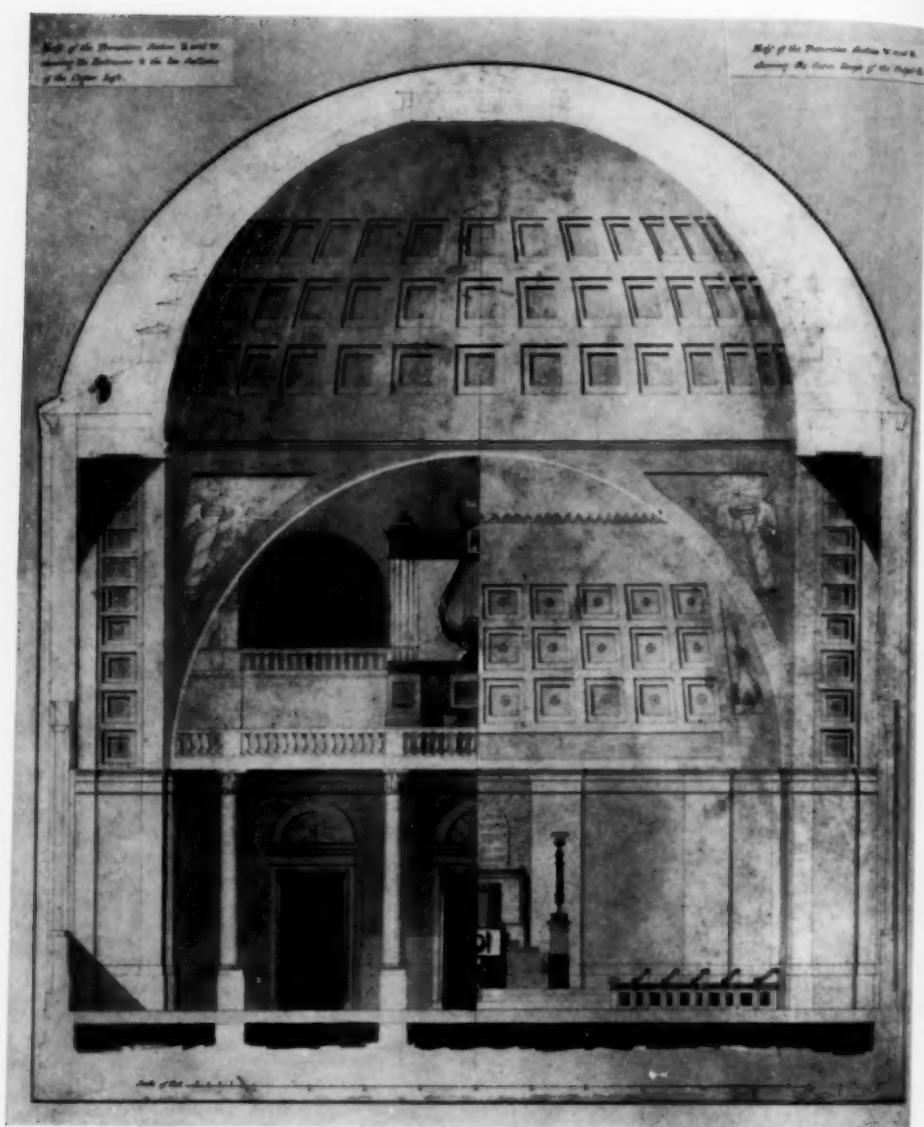


DETAIL FROM *Union Manufacturers* SHOWING VIGNETTE



VIGNETTE ON BALTIMORE FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY POLICY

*From a drawing by Maximilian Godefroy*



INTERIOR OF FIRST UNITARIAN CHURCH, BALTIMORE

*Drawing by Maximilian Godefroy*



much Godefroy profited from his contact with the far more proficient watercolorist. The small and charming *Old House*, owned by Mr. Robert F. Jackson of Cooperstown, N. Y., is probably slightly earlier, yet shows the same debt to Latrobe. There is, moreover, a retention and clarification of certain aspects Godefroy probably considered satisfactory in his early manner—the rocks, the consistency of the lighting, and the figures.

Later, in the perspective view of the Unitarian Church, a drawing of about 1818, the technique is even more loose and free.<sup>19</sup> The foliage around the simplified skeleton is formed by a heavier stroke with a wetter brush, and the scheme of hatching gives way to an assemblage of blots which enhances the space-filling roundness of the trees.

Throughout his work the preferred side-lighting is especially effective on rocks where the shadow along one side emphasizes the three-dimensionality of the object. In this respect he differs from Latrobe whose rocks are more gradually rounded.<sup>20</sup> If Godefroy changes in his handling of rocks, it is toward an increased angularity and crystalline sharpness at the edges of meeting planes and toward an exaggeration of irregularities by the use of contrasting lights and shadows.

A large number of his drawings are arranged in such a way as to suggest a preparation for engraving. The reproduction of drawings and paintings was long recognized as a source of income for artists and had been practiced successfully by such men as William Hogarth and Jean-Baptiste Greuze. A still more important consideration motivated his interest in engraving and influenced the format of many of his drawings. Convinced of his artistic genius Godefroy wished to preserve his reputation by publishing an edition of his works. This desire, although documented only some years later, may have been present from his earliest years in America.<sup>21</sup>

<sup>19</sup> This drawing belongs to the First Unitarian Church, Baltimore, and has been exhibited at the Baltimore Museum of Art; *Two Hundred and Fifty Years of Painting in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1945), p. 37.

<sup>20</sup> See Hamlin, *op. cit.*, frontispiece *et al.* Rocks of a prismatic form occur in Latrobe's drawings only under the proper geological circumstances; see, for example, *ibid.*, p. 39.

<sup>21</sup> The Salters' Company. Godefroy to I. Hall, London, August 15, 1821. I am indebted to Mr. W. R. Nichols, Clerk of the Salters' Company, who searched for and copied the Godefroy material in the records of the Company.

Godefroy's conviction of his greatness was one of the factors in his break with Latrobe; Hamlin, *op. cit.*, pp. 491-92 and n. 10.

Godefroy used a simple pattern for mounting his drawings, one which was not only a preparation for engraving, but also made them more effective for public exhibition. In this scheme a large picture was mounted with one or two small associated pieces and a descriptive legend. The pattern is comparatively rare in America at the time and Godefroy's consistency in using variations of this format make it a characteristic of his mind and hand.

The basic format is employed for the *Battle of Pultowa*, which was eventually examined by an engraver. Below the large battle scene are two labels with a lengthy inscription (one label in French, the other in English), separated by a vignette pasted in the center showing the Château d'If, where the drawing was done. For the rendering of St. Mary's Chapel the scheme is varied so that two vignettes, a plan and a section, flank the legend. Like the *Battle of Pultowa*, all are on separate pieces of paper. The legend, moreover, is a beautiful example of the many possibilities in letter-types for the skilled calligrapher using the quill; it is also a fine test of the engraver's technique. A more restrained lettering appears on Godefroy's large drawing for the Washington Monument, and the entire work is on a single sheet of paper. At the lower left is an inscription characteristic of representations of architecture: "Max<sup>m</sup>. Godefroy invenit et delineavit 1810." Drawings of the Battle Monument have disappeared, but the contemporary engraving reflects the pieced-together format and bears the line: "Max. Godefroy, Esq<sup>r</sup>. P.A. &c. invenit & delin<sup>t</sup>. 1815."<sup>22</sup> Undoubtedly Godefroy did not only the allegory but the whole frontispiece design for *The Portico* of 1817. The engraver has preserved the quality of the separate pieces of paper and even suggested raised panels for the written matter. A final variation appears in the cross-section of the Unitarian Church where the nearly silhouetted architectural drawing, pasted to a rectangular sheet of paper, leaves spandrel-shaped upper corners for descriptive labels.<sup>23</sup>

One purpose of a detailed cataloguing of technical and stylistic characteristics is to enable us to identify other works by the artist in question. Often the internal evidence may be buttressed with

<sup>22</sup> AB, pl. 26.

<sup>23</sup> AB, pl. 30; this plate, following Godefroy's silhouette, omits the two labels. Godefroy had a drawing of the interior of this building in Europe; Archives Nationales MS F<sup>18</sup> 650, Godefroy to the Vicomte Rohault de Fleury, Feb. 8, 1827.

information gained from other sources. External evidence alone can be misleading and requires stylistic confirmation.

There is a candidate for attribution to Godefroy in a large unfinished drawing entitled *The Union Manufactories of Maryland on Patapsco Falls Baltimore County*.<sup>24</sup> Entrepreneurs organized this company in 1808 and immediately began the construction of a textile works at Ellicott's Mills, some ten miles west of Baltimore. The unfinished aspect of the locale suggests that the drawing dates only a few years after the organization of the company. Mill and residential structures appear to be just completed but not yet put into operation. A pile of lumber and felled trees have not yet been removed. Left of center, just above the road and canal, there is a crude, temporary structure which appears to be a brick kiln, probably the source of the building material.

The buildings, almost casually set about in the unfinished landscape, seem to be types transplanted from Baltimore to their rural setting. Any pre-existing structures would probably have been unsuitable for the owners and unattractive to prospective employees.<sup>25</sup> Houses—neat and substantial—would have to be erected along with work buildings. The influence of local traditions in their construction can be seen in the row of workers' dwellings, at the extreme left, which resembles contemporary row housing in Baltimore.<sup>26</sup> The five-bay front mansion near the center is perhaps that of a resident owner or superintendent and would appear quite in place in the city.<sup>27</sup> Between these two social levels is the supervisory class, including foremen, who are provided with dwellings which indicate their intermediate status. Double-houses, another old Baltimore type, are set on either side of the mill buildings.<sup>28</sup> One sign of the future stylistic trend in Baltimore appears in the rather tall proportions of the openings in the double-house to the

<sup>24</sup> This large drawing (30½ x 52 in.), in the MdHS, seems to have no recorded history. I wish to express my appreciation to the staff of the Society for their aid on this and many other aspects of my research.

Although the history of the Company has not been studied, there is a condensed description of the activities surrounding its organization in the act of incorporation, *Laws of Maryland*, 1808, Nov. Sess., chap. XLIX.

<sup>25</sup> The varied problems facing the early mill owners have been considered thoroughly in John Coolidge, *Mill and Mansion* (New York, 1942); for a more concise statement, see Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr., *Rhode Island Architecture* (Providence, 1939), pp. 36-43.

<sup>26</sup> See AB, pls. 17, 18, 44, 45.

<sup>27</sup> See AB, pls. 20, 22.

<sup>28</sup> See AB, pls. 15, 16.

right. Only the actual mill structures in the center approach the status of a new building type.<sup>29</sup> As happened at other early mill sites, these are adaptations of known types—the many-storied brick mansion, the barn with its large loft openings, the belfry of the meeting house. Even the balustrade has a domestic air. Only the large skylights in the tall attics reveal the adaptation of the structures to the industrial need for light. As in other places the builders have worked within their craft traditions, resorting to improvisations as they proved necessary. The whole complex is typical of the nearly self-dependent mill of this age.

There is one piece of external evidence which points to Godefroy as the artist of the large drawing. In 1813 he showed a work at Philadelphia described as follows: "A landscape in black pencil, drawn from nature on the banks of the Patapsco at Ellicott's mills; 2 feet by 1 foot 5 inches."<sup>30</sup> Because of the agreement in time, subject matter, and location, we may justifiably see this work as a preparatory study related in some way to the large unfinished work. In addition the date and subject matter offer a clear link with the study bearing the Latrobe inscription. Certainly Godefroy made sketching trips to the locale of the new factory at the time concerned. Whether Latrobe accompanied him is a question which may never be answered, but which may loom large in view of certain Latrobean aspects of the large drawing.

The artist of the *Union Manufactories* drawing shows the attitude, technique, and style of Godefroy. In their malproportions the figures are certainly his. Many, especially the workmen, have a characteristic awkwardness as they perform their tasks. The group of three gentlemen (the owners?) in the foreground bears the closest resemblance to figures by Latrobe, perhaps because of their costume. By the simplicity of their poses, however, they retain most of the slightly gauche elegance of Godefroy's earlier figures. A concern for the genre appears in the emphasis on people at work or in conversation, in the by-play between man and woman near the spring, and on the far left in the homely domestic scene with its line of laundry.

The trees provide the weakest point of comparison, in part perhaps because the rendering has been so definitely directed

<sup>29</sup> See Coolidge, *op. cit.*, pp. 29-31.

<sup>30</sup> *Third Annual Exhibition . . .*, p. 12.

toward the engraving process, but also because there are so few of the large and bushy trees preferred by Godefroy. Most of the straggling, half-defoliated trees have been ravaged by flood and weather, and the involved, complicated twistings of the skeletal trunks and branches might be found in the work of any artist of the time who inclined toward the picturesque. However, the rocks—their sharp edges, irregularities, and angularities exaggerated by the side-lighting—answer to what is expected of Godefroy.

In the buildings shown in the *Union Manufactories* there are signs of the influence of Latrobe, but also evidence that Latrobe was not the author of the drawing. He cannot, for example, be debited with the awkward perspective of the factory buildings, especially in the drawing of the balcony complex and the gable-end windows of the main structure. Although inconsistencies in the use and treatment of shadows are not Latrobean, this is not a strong argument one way or the other since these parts may be incomplete. Latrobe's methods are reflected in the treatment of the windows. The artist has struggled valiantly with blues and whites, endeavoring to show every muntin and pane of glass. His weakness in this respect appears immediately in a comparison with parallel areas in Latrobe's masterly drawing of the Gay Street front of the Baltimore Exchange.<sup>31</sup> Yet the *Union Manufactories* artist is certainly imitating Latrobe's manner of rendering such forms, as no other architect of the time works this way. For the Chapel of St. Mary's Godefroy had a very different method of indicating the glazing. In the Washington Monument design the flanking buildings have open window frames, lacking all glazing, the normal representation for this period and the kind Godefroy would have known from European drawings and engravings.

The *Union Manufactories* drawing itself, then, suggests Godefroy in many ways: the style and handling of details, the lighting, the connections with Latrobe. Even the nature of its incompleteness adds to this attribution. Some parts are wholly finished, others in various stages of completion, and still others not even sketched; clouds, paths, bushes, and trees would fill the empty areas. This piecemeal procedure recalls the means and methods employed for the *Battle of Pultowa*. Godefroy's interest in descrip-

<sup>31</sup> AB, pl. 33.



tive elements is made startlingly evident by their degree of completeness. Rather than showing an architect's approach to the building as his primary concern, the draftsman has started at the bottom of the scene and finished only the richly detailed foreground setting. There is an obvious fascination with the intricacies of the rocks and growth on either bank of the river, with the great wheel and the water splashing over it while rushing down to the river.

By its format the *Union Manufactories*, dating about 1812, assumes a reasonable place in the sequence of Godefroy's drawings. Although the whole arrangement resembles that of the *Battle of Pultowa*, this drawing is on a single piece of paper, thus recalling the Washington Monument design of 1810. The fine copperplate hand of the inscription and the use of a vignette are not alone sufficient grounds for crediting him with this drawing, since they might be found in the works of other artists. Rather these last two features do suggest that the drawing was intended for engraving.

Although the use of a vignette is not peculiar to Godefroy, the content and complexity of this one are so characteristic of him that it constitutes one of the strongest arguments for his authorship of the drawing. The allegory depicts the belief of the time that both commercial and cultural profit will result from cooperative effort in exploiting the largess of nature for the aggrandizement of America.<sup>22</sup> A large barge (the ship of state?) is drawn from the left by a crowd of figures at the right who are at the same time engaged in a variety of productive activities—a farmer plowing, a woman spinning, a merchant in his counting house, many others less clearly identified. All these, and even a sailing vessel representing navigation, pull ropes which converge on the prow of the barge and personify the enribbioned legend, "A pull, a strong pull, a pull altogether." In the rear of the barge are a large rock and a pile of implements, including the sword and spears of military power and the lyre. The sun's rays reflect from a mirror supported by a genius (the genius of study?) and pick out the sculptured relief of a head on the rock, another

<sup>22</sup> The nationalist sentiments of the age of the Embargo permeate the act of incorporation where the purpose of the company is stated as "establishing, carrying on and encouraging, manufactories of all the useful and necessary articles which have heretofore been imported from foreign countries; . . ." (See n. 24.)



symbol of cultural significance. The tiny figures in the boat are touched by another of the sun's life-giving rays, one which passes through a wreath held by an eagle. In addition to the expansive working out of the concept, there is an area of more purely allegorical content on an island to the rear. In a group of three figures, one stands in the center and holds a wreath over a kneeling figure on the right. The third, a seated Minerva-like figure, may be recognized as America by the flag attached to her spear, a spear that ends in an anchor. Left of the group a pregnant figure bends over a small waterfall, her face and arms in the water, a rather obvious reference to nature's bounty in the form of the power-giving Patapsco Falls. The whole, though small, representation expresses a magnificent confidence in the results expected from manufacturing enterprises undertaken during the embargo preceding the War of 1812. The complexity of this expression of America's determination to be self-sufficient bespeaks the mental attitude of Godefroy, just as his vocabulary of symbols appears in a mere listing of those employed in the allegory—a Minerva figure, geniuses, the eagle, the lyre, images representing agriculture, commerce, and navigation. And, as in the Baltimore Fire Insurance Company vignette, there is Godefroy's method of reinforcing the meaning with representations of actual activities.

The allegorical element occurs not only in Godefroy's drawings; it is surprisingly frequent in his architectural decoration. The concept of unity, for example, appears in much of his architecture, symbolized especially by the fasces. The fasces appear in the work of numerous artists of this time in Baltimore and other American cities as well as in Europe. Godefroy uses them in the façade sculptures of the Commercial and Farmers Bank of 1810, in the stuccoed pendentives of the Unitarian Church, in later work in France, but above all in the Battle Monument where they are the primary symbol.<sup>33</sup> The figure of Baltimore atop the Monument, reflected in his *Portico* frontispiece, is also his main sculptural contribution to the Baltimore Exchange, 1816, as projected by Latrobe. The accompanying attributes of agriculture and commerce in these examples are present in the Bank of 1810 in the figures of Mercury and Ceres on the façade and in heads of the

<sup>33</sup> Some of this material has been dealt with in my article "The Public Memorial and Godefroy's Battle Monument," forthcoming in the *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*; but see also Borneman, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

same deities beside the vaults inside the building.<sup>34</sup> Two heads of Mercury and two relief panels of the caduceus flank the main entrance of the Exchange. The *Union Manufactories* allegory of 1812 has all these elements plus the signs of culture. The lyre especially, which may be postulated for the diploma vignette intended for St. Mary's Seminary, is in the *Portico* frontispiece and receives a monumental treatment as the shape of the organ for the Unitarian Church.<sup>35</sup> Among the concepts which pre-occupied Godefroy, several others also crop up frequently, including the image of fleeting time, the American eagle, the cultural significance of antiquity.

A question is posed by Godefroy's intense interest in complex and fanciful allegories. How can we reconcile them with the simplicity of his architecture which achieves much of its effect through the bare wall surfaces and the three-dimensional conception of the masses? Perhaps these two attitudes are not contradictory, but complementary. The allegories of his drawings and decorations may represent the innate literary tendencies of his imagination, while his buildings are created in a style consciously acquired from Latrobe and other contemporaries. The term "Romantic Classicism," used in reference to architecture of the period and implying such a duality, may be especially appropriate as a description of Godefroy's total work.

Godefroy early established a fairly specific language of symbols and used it for several years, with slight modifications, in an amazing variety of applications. The practice is suggestive of his very literary turn of mind which finds its visual outlet, in his drawings, so extraordinarily dependent on description, narrative, and genre. The components of his symbolic language have full verbal counterparts; little is uniquely visual. Several times in his lengthy descriptions and interpretations Godefroy himself made rather complete translations into words.<sup>36</sup>

This way of thinking extends to other activities throughout his

<sup>34</sup> Wilbur H. Hunter, Jr., "Salvage of 1810 Sculpture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XIV (1955), 27-28.

<sup>35</sup> The lyre-shaped organ was highly appreciated in its day; see the anonymous article in *The Portfolio*, May 1, 1819, pp. 389-93. The engraving of the exterior illustrating this description was made after still another drawing by Godefroy in 1819.

<sup>36</sup> One example is the description of the Battle Monument in *Niles' Weekly Register*, Apr. 29, 1815, which I believe was written by Godefroy.

lifetime. His early essays, the mystery he built over his past, his constant exaggerations—these are all verbal constructions, some of which Godefroy himself evidently came to believe.<sup>87</sup> Now, while the creative imagination escapes definition, some of its workings can be described.<sup>88</sup> The tendency to accept eventually his own exaggerations finds a parallel in his artistic efforts. An intense absorption with his symbols may account for the way in which a minor symbol, the often-used lyre, emerges suddenly and magnificently as a major focal point, the organ in the Unitarian Church. If this explanation of his invention and the parallel with his extra-artistic life are valid, then in Godefroy, indeed, we may be dealing with the kind of person for whom the symbol is more real than actuality.

<sup>87</sup> For the early essays, see Quynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 9-11. The exaggerations, or falsifications, are the burden of Mrs. Quynn's interesting and valuable article. I think her judgment of Godefroy is overly harsh. She writes, for example, of Godefroy's claim on the city of Rennes: "The City Council supported the Mayor's position that this claim was not justified, but they were sorry for Godefroy and gave him 3,000 francs." (*Ibid.*, p. 24.) Despite several harangues by the Mayor, the City Council unanimously, except for the Mayor, supported Godefroy and specifically did not accept the Mayor's grounds for dismissing him. One sentence from the resolution granting the 3,000 francs reads: "Le Conseil déclare que, dans son opinion, le nombre, la nature et la variété des travaux exécutés par S<sup>r</sup>. Godefroy, depuis un an, dont il a présenté le Tableau à l'appui de son demande, sont la véritable mesure et la preuve de son zèle et de son activité; qu'enfin les documents parvenus au Conseil tendent à lui faire regretter cet architecte." The verb "regretter" means not that the Council felt sorry for Godefroy, but that it was sorry to lose him. (Archives de la Ville de Rennes, D/1 19, *Extrait des Delibérations de Conseil Municipale de la Ville de Rennes. Séances ordinaires des 2, 4 & 5 août 1828.*) I am indebted to M. Jézéquel, Archiviste de la Ville, for his aid while I worked in Rennes.

<sup>88</sup> The description by Henri Poincaré has not yet been surpassed; his essay "Mathematical Creation" is most readily located in the Mentor edition of the anthology *The Creative Process*, edited by Brewster Ghiselin.

## PLACE NAMES OF BALTIMORE AND HARFORD COUNTIES

By WILLIAM B. MARYE

BY way of explanation, the author is a native of the Fork of Gunpowder River, near tidewater. He has known Bush River since childhood and has been in and out of most of the creeks and coves of Harford County. Acquaintance with the bay shore of Harford County and its creeks was made from canoe trips in 1913, 1914 and 1916. The object of these trips was to search for evidences of Indian occupation and to question natives about place names and traditions.

The greater part of the material on which this work is based was in hand by 1916, but researches on these subjects have been made from time to time ever since. A previous article on place names in this *Magazine* in 1930 covered Abbey Island to Cat Creek.<sup>1</sup> This article covers Gunpowder River to Swan Creek. In spite of every effort, certain place names still elude all efforts to explain them.<sup>2</sup> It should be kept in mind that some land patent

<sup>1</sup> In the previous article (*MdHM*, XXV [1930], 321-365) the following names were included: Abbey Island, Ah Ha Branch, Amos Island, Back River, Bald Friar (near the Susquehanna), Bald Friar (near Winter's Run), Basin, Bare Hills, Bears Run or Branch, Bear Cabin Branch, Bear Neck Field, Bear Neck, Bears Wallowing Pond Branch, Bear Creek (also references to bears), Beaver Dams of Long Bridge Branch (Anne Arundel County), Beaver Dam Run (Baltimore County), Beaver Dam Run (Harford County), Beaver Neck Branch or Beaver Neck Creek, Bear Point, Bee Tree Hill, Ben's Run, Bengies Point, Bird River, Black Island, Block House Cove, Boobies Island, Boone's Creek, Boothby Hill, Bread and Cheese Branch, Broad Neck, Broad Run (and the Indian Graves), Buck Hill, Buck Spring Field, Buffalo Branch, Bush Cabin Branch, Bush River, Bynam's Run, Carroll's Island, Cat Creek, and Canton. There is also additional information on Baltimore County names in the author's articles on "The Great Maryland Barrens," *MdHM*, L (1955), 11-23, 120-142, 234-253. The possessive 's has been dropped from many place names in modern usage (see e. g., *Gazetteer of Maryland*). This tends to obscure the derivation of the name, so the possessive 's has been retained, where applicable, in this article.

<sup>2</sup> I cite as an example Upper Falls. This name is appropriate to neither of two places to which it has been applied. In 1877 it was the name of a post office situated between Franklinville and the present Upper Falls (G. M. Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore County* [1877], p. 61). When this post office was transferred

names were derived from place names, while other land patent names became place names.

### GUNPOWDER RIVER

Gunpowder River was, beyond a doubt, at one time a beautiful, even a noble estuary; but it suffered degradation from loss of depth in the course of the past century as a result of the immense quantities of alluvion brought down and deposited by two freshwater streams, the Great (or Big) and the Little Falls, particularly the former. After heavy rains its waters, from shore to shore, are a rich yellow. Since 1917 vast military developments and installations<sup>3</sup> have taken over Gunpowder Neck. On the western side of Gunpowder River, and in Bird River, bungalow colonies have taken up many miles of the shores, which have been divested of their former rural characteristics. A rare, and irreplaceable solitude is gone forever. Anyone who, like the author, was privileged to know the lovely Cadwalader estate, Maxwell's Point—seventeen farms and over eight thousand acres—not to mention Lego's Point (Hurst's) and the Philadelphia Gunning Club property, does not like to think of Gunpowder Neck as it is today.

There is little doubt in my mind that the name of Gunpowder River was known to the mariners of Chesapeake Bay some years before any settlements were made in that river by white people. Names of this class are very rare. So far as I am aware, Gunpowder River is first mentioned by that name in the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "Powdersby," laid out for Godfrey Harmer, the Indian trader,<sup>4</sup> August 29, 1658. The land, not named in the certificate, is described as situated "on the west side of Chesapeake Bay and near the mouth of a River in the said Bay called Gunpowder River."<sup>5</sup> It lies at the mouth of Bush

to Star's Corner, at the junction of the old Joppa Road and the Franklinville Road, the name went with it. We generally called the place "the Corner." Star's Corner was originally known as McCubbinsville. The McCubbins, who gave the place its name, about 1800, were said to have been a race of very small men. One of them was seen (so it was related) climbing up a pokeberry bush, a typical example of country humor.

<sup>3</sup> The U. S. Army Chemical Center and the Aberdeen Proving Ground.

<sup>4</sup> See this author's "Early Settlers of the Site of Havre de Grace," *MdHM*, XIII (1918), 197-202.

<sup>5</sup> Baltimore County Land Records (hereafter cited as BCLR), Liber Q, f. 294, Hall of Records, Annapolis.

River<sup>6</sup> at Lego's Point.<sup>7</sup> No lands were surveyed along Gunpowder River until 1659.

Whence comes the name of Gunpowder River? How explain it? A guidebook, published in 1802, gives us the following explanation: "Great Gunpowder River—Between this and Bush River is gunpowder neck, so named from a tradition that the Indians, who formerly lived on this tract, when first acquainted with the use of gunpowder, supposed it to be a vegetable seed; they purchased a quantity, and sowed it, on this neck, expecting it to produce a good crop."<sup>8</sup>

Is this a true tradition? If any such incident occurred, I doubt if Gunpowder Neck was the scene of this deception. Indeed,

<sup>6</sup> Baltimore County Rent Roll, Calvert Papers No. 833, f. 215, MdHS, 650 acres, "Warrington, sur. 9 ffeb 1664 for Nath. Shields [Stiles] at a point of marsh on ye southernmost side of Bush River"—"This land formerly called Powdersby." 200 acres, Powdersby, sur. Aug. 29, 1658: "Ye record says on a point near the mouth of Susquehanna River but it lies on a point at ye mouth of Bush River." This land had the same number of acres and was laid out on the same date as the survey recorded in Liber Q, f. 294 (note 5), and is, undoubtedly, the same land. The record continues: "Poss by Benjamin Legoe for ye orphans of Wm Hill entered before by the name of Warrington."

<sup>7</sup> A deed recorded among the land records of Baltimore County, dated Feb. 4, 1726, conveyed possession of "Warrington" from John Hill, mariner, to Rees Hinton, of Cecil County. This deed recites that Nathaniel Stiles, for whom "Warrington" was surveyed, died in 1676, upon whose death the land was sold to John Hill, grandfather of the grantor. Benjamin Lego, originally of St. Giles, Cripplegate, London, horn turner, aged 25, bound himself as an apprentice and servant to Richard Kitchener, of Stepney, Middlesex, Oct. 24, 1698, to serve him "in the plantation of Virginia beyond the seas for four years next ensuing to his arrival in Virginia. (BCLR, Liber T.R. No. R.A., f. 355). Before he had completed his term of apprenticeship, in fact by 1699, he was living in Baltimore County. (A Book for Recording The County Taxables and Taxeys for Baltimore County, MS. MdHS.) There he married Mary, the widow of William Hill, Sept. 25, 1707, Benjamin Lego and Mary, his wife, executrix of William Hill, of Baltimore County, deceased, rendered an account of the said Hill's estate. (Accounts, HR). He gave his name to Lego's Point (Lego's Bar), and died in 1759, at an advanced age (about 86). "Warrington" was resurveyed for William Rumsey and John Baldwin, of Cecil County, May 9, 1734 (Land Records, HR) at which time Benjamin Lego, "an ancient inhabited on Warrington," testified as to a bounded tree. Some time after this resurvey was made "Warrington" was owned as follows: Thomas Downie, 128 acres; Benjamin Legoe, 386 acres; William Hill, 140 acres. (Baltimore County Rent Roll, Vol. 1, Land Office, HR.) The Legoes Point farm, 486 acres, was offered for sale in the *Maryland Journal*, Apr. 17, 1787. Benjamin Lego left two sons, Spencer and Benedict Lego. This family continued to reside in Gunpowder Neck, at or near the old home place, until the latter part of the past century. Among the last representatives were Amos Lego and "Squire" Lego. More recently, Lego's Point belonged to the Hurst family, of Baltimore. There is a considerable Indian shell-heap at Lego's Point.

<sup>8</sup> S. S. Moore and T. W. Jones, *Traveller's Directory, or A Pocket Companion; shewing the main road from Philadelphia to New York and from Philadelphia to Washington* (Philadelphia, 1802).



there is no reason to believe there were any Indian towns on or near Gunpowder River in historical times. Nonetheless, the name may have some connection with the Indians; but that which seems to me the more likely, is that it is connected with the name of Salt Peter Creek.<sup>9</sup> The lower parts of this creek are bounded on the south by Carroll's Island. Among the names by which this island was called in early colonial times is Gunpowder Island.<sup>10</sup>

In early historical times the mouth of Gunpowder River lay between the western end of Spry's Island and Miller's Island.<sup>11</sup> Back River and Middle River were regarded as branches of Gunpowder River.<sup>12</sup> However, during the past century the Bay broke through between Spry's Island and Rickett's point and considerable

\* Salt petre is, of course, an ingredient of gunpowder. The name of Salt Peter Creek occurs in the certificate of survey of a tract of land called "Salt Petre Neck," which was laid out for James Denton, Nov. 19, 1665, and recorded at the Land Office, but in a Baltimore County Rent Roll (Calvert Papers 883, f. 218) the date is: "19 October, 1664." No earlier mention of the name has been found by this author but it may well be older. The land lies on the north side of Salt Peter Creek and runs across the neck to Gunpowder River. It remained in the Denton family for nearly a century, until it was acquired by William Andrews, who incorporated it in a farm of 650 acres, which he calls in his will, Dec. 1, 1781, "Graces Quarter." In the past century the old Graces Quarter farm was a well-known ducking shore. Battery Point, at the mouth of Salt Peter Creek, so named for a massive "battery" of rocks, was formerly called Graces Point. (Hopkins' *Atlas of Baltimore County* (1877), p. 69).

<sup>10</sup> *MdHM*, XXV (1930), 362. In this article I point out that Carroll's Island was formerly known as Lee's Island, Phillips' Island, Carvill's Island and Gunpowder Island.

<sup>11</sup> Miller's Island was surveyed for John Arding, Mar. 15, 1676, under the name of "Ardington" (BCLR), who in his will, Nov. 21, 1692, calls it the "fifty acres at the Island Point." His certificate of survey calls for the mouth of Back River. "Ardington" was resurveyed for Stephen Bently, May 20, 1714, after which it was known as Bently's Island (BCLR, Liber L. L. No. B., f. 75). Thomas Stansbury escheated "Ardington" and called it "Stansbury's Venture." It was patented to him, Nov. 22, 1726. On Mar. 14, 1759, he had it resurveyed and called it "Stansbury's Island." (Balt. Co., Patented Certificates. HR). The resurvey is described as an island formerly known as Bently's Island. It calls for "a point called the Island Point *which makes the mouth of Back River and Gunpowder River.*" On May 27, 1746, Daniel Dulany advertised for the return of two servants who had run away from his White Marsh plantation in Baltimore County and had "gone down the Bay from Miller's Island." (*Annapolis Maryland Gazette*). On Sept. 19, 1816, Aquila S. Stinchcomb advertised for sale in the *Maryland Journal* a farm of 400-500 acres in Back River neck, "about six miles from Miller's Island." Hart Island, lying next to Miller's Island, was taken up by George Gouldsmith, July 12, 1659, under the name of "Hooper's Island." (Patent Records for Land [hereafter cited as PRL], Liber 5, f. 407, Land Office, HR.) In the certificate of survey it is described as "a parcell of land on the west side of the Bay making the south point of Gunpowder River." The same name, Hooper Island, appears on Augustine Herman's *Map of Maryland* (1670). It later became known as Todd's Island.

<sup>12</sup> *MdHM*, XXV (1930), 325, 326.

land was washed away. Rickett's Point is a late place name. Spry's Island, on the other hand, takes its name from Oliver Spry, who died over two and a half centuries ago. After the cutting away of the land between Rickett's Point and Spry's Island the mouth of the river appeared to be situated between the island and the point.<sup>13</sup> It is not unlikely that the great hurricane of 1893 wreaked considerable damage on this former peninsula and greatly widened a breach which was already there.<sup>14</sup>

The question whether or not Gunpowder River is that Willowby's River, which Captain John Smith named for his friend and patron, Lord Willowby, is of no little interest, because the great explorer and his party explored Willowby's River for a considerable distance in the summer of the year 1608. We know this fact, not from the texts, but from a cross which we find next to Willowby's River on Smith's map of Virginia. Entered on this map is the explanation of these crosses: "To the crosses

<sup>13</sup> "Maxwell's Conclusion," 1623 acres, a resurvey on ancient Spry, Harmer and Maxwell lands, was laid out for Philizana, Mary Elizabeth and Eleanor Maxwell, the daughters of James Maxwell, eldest son of Col. James Maxwell, May 12, 1731 (PRL, Liber E.I. No. 4, f. 187). The plat which accompanies this resurvey (Balt. Co. Certificates) shows the configuration of the shores from Rickett's Point to, and including, Spry's Island, as it formerly was. There is recorded at Bel Air, Md., among the land records of Harford County a deed, bearing date Feb. 10, 1807, whereby Charlotte Waltham conveyed to Samuel Ricketts one third part of "Maxwell's Conclusion," "including a small island known by the name of Spryes Island situate in Harford County." Also recorded at Bel Air is an 1837 deed whereby Samuel Ricketts conveyed to Dr. David King "all that tract of land lying near Chesapeake Bay and the mouth of Gunpowder River or its intersection with the said Bay known as Spyres Island together with a small island in the immediate vicinity of Spryes Island supposed to contain about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an acre will make  $79\frac{3}{4}$  acres of land with the privilege of a landing on the point known as Ricketts Point or Blind Point." (Harford Co. Land Records, Liber H.D. No. 21). This means that nearly eighty acres have been washed away in the past century. Apparently all the island from Rickett's Point to the present Spryes Island was known by that name. While it has somehow escaped being recorded in seventeenth and eighteenth century land records and elsewhere, the name probably attached itself in the time of Oliver Spry, the original settler, of that part of Gunpowder Neck, to the peninsula now long since disappeared, which was taken up under the name of "Island Point."

<sup>14</sup> My information about this hurricane comes from Mr. Thomas Francis Cadwalader, who tells me it did great damage at Maxwell's Point and came near destroying the mansion house there. Martinet's *Map of Harford County* (1877), shows a Spry's Island much larger than the present island and coming much nearer to the mainland. The peninsula was taken up, December, 1683, for Mary Stansby, a daughter of Oliver Spry, and called "Island Point" (Calvert Papers No. 883, f. 230). The name must be significant. The plat of "Maxwell's Conclusion," 1731, shows only a narrow strip of land between the river and the Bay, adjacent to what is now Rickett's Point. It seems likely, therefore, that even in 1683, the peninsula, viewed from Chesapeake Bay, looked like an island.

hath been discovered what beyond is by relation." <sup>15</sup> And Captain Smith wrote: "At the farthest points reached going up the rivers we cut in trees as many crosses as we had a mind to cut and, in many places, made holes in the trees wherein we put notes which we wrote and in some places, crosses of brass, to signify to those who might come after us that English men had been there." <sup>16</sup> Unquestionably, it is a choice between Gunpowder River and Bush River. Both have had their advocates. The Hon. Walter W. Preston, in his *History of Harford County* (1901) casts his vote for Bush River. There are two important points which should here be brought out. According to his map, Smith estimated that the source of Willowby's River was a considerable distance above the farthest point which he reached. He must have penetrated to the head of tidewater on one of three freshwater streams: Winters Run, of Bush River, or the Great, or the Little Falls (or both) of Gunpowder River. Not only Smith, but three of his companions, Bagnall, Powell and Todkill (these three sign a single report) describe Willowby's River as "a rocky river." <sup>17</sup> Now, in order to get the impression that one of these two rivers was "rocky," an explorer must have ascended one of these freshwater streams. This stream, at the point where Smith and his party stopped and marked their crosses on trees, must have been so considerable as to give Smith the impression that he was still far from its source, and since the Great Gunpowder was much bigger than the Little Gunpowder and Winters Run put together, I should be inclined to believe that he ascended that river as far as the first cataract or falls and saw that beyond lay a very rocky river, but did not attempt to go farther, unless on foot, since the stream was scarcely navigable beyond the falls even for his small craft. There is a difficulty, however, in accepting this con-

<sup>15</sup> Facsimiles of this map will be found in J. Thomas Scharf's *History of Baltimore City and County* (Phila., 1881) and in Lyon G. Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia, 1606-1625* (New York, 1907).

<sup>16</sup> John Ashton, ed., *The Adventures and Discourses of Captain John Smith* (New York, [1883?]), p. 147.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 147. Edward Arber, ed., *Capt. John Smith . . . Works* (Birmingham, 1884), p. 423. Bagnall, Powell and Todkill describe Willowby's River as "a rocky river where the Massawomecks went up." Smith, himself, tells how, when near the head of the Bay, and while crossing over from the western to the eastern shore, they "incountered 7. or 8. Canowes-full of Massawomecks." (*Narratives of Early Virginia*, p. 148). The Massawomecks landed (it is not clear on which side of the bay). They must have been observed later going up Willowby's River, which Smith and his party had already explored.

clusion, and it is only fair to consider it. On his map of Virginia, Smith has placed, immediately below the mouth of Willowby's River, an island or islands which he calls "Powels Isles," named, obviously, for Nathaniel Powell, gent., one of his companions. I am convinced that Poole's Island derives its name from, and is identical with, Powels Isles. If this is correct, and if Powels Isles is correctly situated on Smith's map, then it would seem to follow that Willowby's River is Bush River.

#### FERRIES AND FORDS: JOINER'S POINT; THE LONG CALM

In colonial and early republican times there were three ways of getting across, or around, the head of Gunpowder River, which were in use, namely, a ferry and two fords. I have in hand considerable data about Gunpowder ferry. The ferry landing on the east side of the river seems always to have been at Joppa, or the site of Joppa, on the land called "Taylor's Choice." The first notice of Gunpowder ferry is to be found in the Court Proceedings of Baltimore County, November Court, 1683, wherein it is ordered that a ferry be kept over the river "from the house of Thomas Richardson to the house of Mr. James Thompson."<sup>18</sup> The ferry landing on the western side of the river was on the land called "Taylor's Mount," which for more than two hundred years, was the estate of the Taylor-Day family. The landing on the west side of Gunpowder River was usually, it would appear, at the beautiful, never-failing spring, still known as the Ferry Spring, which issues out of the river bank next to the field which is properly called the Ferry Meadow, on "Taylor's Mount" above the old mansion house towards North's Landing. At one time (1720) the Baltimore County court proposed to remove the ferry landing to Joiner's Point, unless certain conditions at the old landing were improved. In the event that this order was carried out, a suitable road out to the point was to be constructed.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Evidence in hand leads me to believe that at this time James Thompson resided on "Taylor's Choice" and Thomas Richardson on "Taylor's Mount," opposite plantations.

<sup>19</sup> In the Baltimore County Court Proceedings (hereafter cited as BCCP), Nov. Court, 1720, it is ordered that "the ferry landing on the south side of Gunpowder *be at joyners Point* & the overseer of the Highways on that side make a good road from thence unto the main road and good bridges and causeways where necessary *unless* Thos Hatchman living at the late ferry landing shall make a good and sufficient causeway to prevent horses mireing going out or coming in to the Ferry

There is still visible on Day's Island a road leading out towards Joiner's Point. This wooded island is a recent affair, having been formed during a violent storm which occurred in the latter half of the past century, at which time the present, very deep thoroughfare was washed through what was formerly a peninsula.<sup>20</sup>

In September, 1683, the Baltimore County court issued an order to the overseers of the highways of Gunpowder River to "make the highways good round the falls of Gunpowder the nearest way, and to be cleared against the next court."<sup>21</sup> It was then, no doubt, that a road was opened to the lowest ford on the Great Falls, which was situated a short distance above the head of tidewater. This ford is mentioned in the survey of a tract of land called "Speedwell," laid out for Enoch Spinkes, June 11, 1688, "lying on the south side of Gunpowder River, beginning at a bounded white oak standing by the first branch"<sup>22</sup> of the Great Falls *near the wadeing place*."<sup>23</sup>

The situation of the old ford has been worked out by the author with the aid of old plats, depositions and deeds.<sup>24</sup> It

boat at low tide then the landing to continue at the old place." Thomas Hatchman, an innholder, owned part of "Taylor's Mount" by virtue of a deed from William Trew. (BCLR, Liber I.S. No. G., f. 383). The former peninsula was taken up by Thomas Richardson, Sept. 4, 1687, and called "Long Point." James Lennox conveyed this land to Stephen Onion by deed, July 2, 1743 (BCLR, Liber T.B. No. C). In this deed the land conveyed is described as situated "on the south side Gunpowder River betwixt the ferry over Gunpowder River and Bird River." Evidently at that time the ferry landing was above Joiner's Point. A plat in MdHS of "Taylor's Mount," made 1770-1774, shows "Joiners Point." The name of the point also appears on a map styled "Map and Profile of the Baltimore and Port Deposit Rail Road," January, 1836, formerly among the Day Papers, and given to the Society by the author. County people said "Giner's Point."

<sup>20</sup> The day after the storm this author's cousin, Mr. Edward Augustus Day, of "Taylor's Mount," (1833-1917) drove a carriage and a team of horses across the new thoroughfare, which was so deep that the horses were obliged to swim. His wife was with Mr. Day on this occasion.

<sup>21</sup> BCCP, 1683.

<sup>22</sup> The first branch of the Great Falls empties into the Falls a little over half a mile below the bridge on the Philadelphia Road (not the Pulaski Highway). It never had a name in my day, but in some deeds of the past century it is called "James's Park Branch." It rises near Upper Falls and flows through the Negro settlement of the Brown family called Brown Town.

<sup>23</sup> PRL, Liber 22, f. 440.

<sup>24</sup> The depositions are interesting. June 12, 1764, John Roberts, alias Campbell, aged 80, Heathcote Pickett, aged 58, and Thomas Richardson, aged 69, deposed that the beginning of "Speedwell" was a white oak tree which stood "at the mouth of the first branch that descends into Great Gunpowder Falls—about fifty or sixty yards to the westward of the lower fording place." (BCLR, Liber B. No. N., f. 455) April 22, 1779: depositions relating to "Spanish Oak Bottom": John Bond, of Harford County deposed that about thirty years before Stephen Onion



crossed the Falls about an eighth of a mile above the Baltimore and Ohio railroad bridge. Sections of the "old post road" which led across the Great Falls at this ford are, if I am not mistaken, still in use, and are elsewhere traceable.

The ford next above the lower ford before mentioned was called the Long Calm. It was situated less than half a mile above the bridge on the road now (i. e., since the construction of the Pulaski Highway) known as the old Philadelphia Road, beginning just above the mouth of the second large branch which descends into the Great Falls on its eastern side, and extending down stream a hundred yards or more. Some sections of the "old post road" which led across the Fork of Gunpowder from the Little Falls to the Long Calm, were still to be traced in my day, particularly in the lower part of the valley of this "branch," and along the southern boundary of the old Raphel farm. On the western side of the Falls I have traced it nearly all the way to Pensil's Corner at the top of the Forges Hill, on the Philadelphia Road. This old road, part of the main highway from the mouth of the Susquehanna to Baltimore, was laid out by order of Baltimore County court, November, 1692, as follows: "Ordered that Thomas Preston, one of the overseers of highways in Gunpowder River hundred, doe make a good sufficient road thirty feet wide—beginning at the maine road to the upper wadeing place called the Long Calme, . . ." <sup>25</sup>

The Long Calm, in its day was one of the best known fords in Maryland, and is often mentioned in public records.<sup>26</sup> It is a

[the eminent ironmaster who died in 1754] "showed him a spanish oak standing on the north side of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River above the old road that leads across the falls at the lower ford" (BCLR, Liber W. G. N. C., ff. 530, 531). See also the deposition of Henry Hart, Sept. 21, 1782, (*ibid.*, No. N., f. 327). Heathcote Pickett was the unfortunate man who was hanged by the patriots at Joppa Gate during the Revolution because he was a Tory and was accused of working for the enemy.

<sup>25</sup> BCCP. The preposterous theory that the name of the Long Calm was originally "Longchamps" and was conferred by French troops under Rochambeau when they crossed this ford, is obviously without foundation.

<sup>26</sup> To cite a few examples: BCCP, Aug. Court, 1728: "Thomas Giddings [Gittings] is appointed overseer of the roads from the little falls to the long Calm of the Great Falls, and from thence to Nicholas Days, from Thomas Hutchins to the little falls and from Josias Hendons to Luke Stansburys mill." "Onions Second Thought," surveyed for Stephen Onion, Mar. 11, 1744, beginning at the second bounded tree of "James's Park," standing on the east side of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River "opposite to a small run [Cow Branch] that empties into the falls, being the First run on the west side of the said falls below the



broad reach of quiet water, not very deep, almost free of rocks, and with a smooth, even bottom, an ideal fording place and well named.

### BRIDGES OVER THE TWO FALLS

A writer in the *Maryland Journal* of August 11, 1789, mentions the fact that the road from Baltimore to Philadelphia passed over "numerous and perilous fords," and that there was only one bridge on this road in Maryland "worthy of observation," namely, the bridge over Swan Creek near Havre de Grace. (Evidently, the massive wooden Philadelphia Road bridge over the Great Falls of Gunpowder had not yet been built, although, provision had been made for it.) It stood for about one hundred and twenty five years, and was in the 1920's replaced by the present concrete structure.

Long Calm." (Field Book of Col. Thomas White, MdHS, deposited by Harford Co. Hist. Soc.). On Sept. 10, 1759, James Crouch conveyed to Jonathan Starkie, of Baltimore County, 100 acres of land, "being part of a tract of land lying in the said county on the main Falls of Gunpowder River at the foarding place commonly called the Long Calme called Cullinburne." (BCLR, Liber B. No. G., 1757-1759). On Oct. 11 following, Starkie or Starkey, sold the whole of "Cullenburne," 200 acres, to Messrs. Alexander Lawson, James Russell, James Wardrope, Walter and John Ewer, "concerned in iron works" (the Nottingham Company). Before a land commission, held in the year 1753 to determine the bounds of a tract of land called "Fryes Plains," which is situated between the Pulaski Highway and the old Philadelphia Road at Pensil's Corner, Major Thomas Franklin deposed that about thirty years since he "was riding from the Long Calm a foarding place of the Great Falls of Gunpowder river and near to the place where the Free School now stands." (BCCP, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, f. 224). The old free school stood on "Fryes Plains"; Asa Barton agreed to keep the ferry over the Long Calm (BCCP, Nov. Court, 1754); John Bank agreed to keep a ferry over the Long Calm, to provide a scow large enough to carry a chair and one horse without unharnessing, in such manner as Col. William Young and Capt. Walter Tolley may direct, and to build a good wharf on either side of the Long Calm (BCCP, Nov. Court, 1759). *Maryland Journal*, Sept. 4, 1781, carries the notice that the Office of Confiscated Estates offers for sale the property of the Nottingham Company, 12,000 acres, 2 forges, 1 furnace and 2 grist mills: "That part of the premises called the Long Calm where the forges stand is in point of situation perhaps equal to any on the continent for water works, the Brandywine not excepted. Besides two mills which are already built eight or more may be erected, and from the same dam and same race be supplied with a great abundance of water in the dryest season." The Nottingham Iron Works were sold to the Ridgelys, and in the *Maryland Journal* June 28, 1785, we find offered for sale a lot of bar iron "at Ridgely's Forge on the Long Calm." (See division of lands of Gen. Charles Ridgely of Hampton, 1829, in BCLR, Liber W. G. No. 191: plat of the Forge Lot, by Alex. Bouldin, showing the forge dam and the disposition of the forges and grist mills, etc., with relation to the Philadelphia Road.) By deed dated Oct. 28, 1845, David Ridgely sold The Forge Lot, including the forges, to Robert Howard. *Maryland Journal*, April 20, 1792: to be sold, at the house of Mrs. Rebecca Young near the Long Calm, Mrs. Young's life interest in "Sewell's Fancy" and "Nan-jemoy," containing upwards of 1,000 acres.

A bridge over the Little Gunpowder Falls on the Philadelphia Road was erected at a much earlier date, if we may assume that an order of the court of Baltimore County to that effect was carried out. In the year 1750 the court appointed Messrs. Thomas Franklin, William Young, Nicholas Gay and Talbot Risteau, commissioners, to see to the building of a bridge over the Little Falls at Onion's Forge,<sup>27</sup> i. e., at or near the site of the present bridge. In the course of years there have been several bridges at this place. One of them was washed away in the 1880's under dramatic circumstances.<sup>28</sup>

In the *Maryland Journal* for October 25, 1785, there appeared a notice, emanating, it was said, from "a large number of the inhabitants of Baltimore and Harford Counties," who thereby announced their intention of petitioning the General Assembly for an act "to open and straighten that part of the post road leading from Philadelphia to Baltimore Town vizt from the Bridge at Onion's Mills across the mouth of the Great Falls of Gunpowder until it intersects the aforesaid road near Capt. Skerett's"<sup>29</sup> and for building a bridge over the said Great Falls." That section of the Philadelphia Road which it was proposed to straighten and shorten was the one later known, in deeds, as well as in local speech, as "the old post road" or "old Long Calm road." It crossed the Fork of Gunpowder River from the Long Calm ford to Onion's Iron Works, which were at the head of tidewater on the Little Falls. The act to amend the post road and to build the bridge was passed by the Assembly in April,

<sup>27</sup> BCCP, Liber T. R. No. 5, f. 4.

<sup>28</sup> My father was driving to Magnolia one morning in the 1880's to take a train for Baltimore. The Little Falls was in flood as a result of a "cloudburst" which occurred the night before. Arriving at the bridge on the Philadelphia Road he found a man standing there to warn people not to cross it, as it might be carried away any minute. The floor of the bridge was awash. Just then Mr. Frederick Tyson (1828-1901), of Baltimore, came down the hill, driving at a very rapid pace, as he always did. He disregarded the warning and drove across the bridge. No sooner had he reached the Harford County side than the bridge was lifted from its foundations, turned around, and carried down the river.

<sup>29</sup> Capt. Clement Skerett kept a tavern called the Stone House Tavern on the Philadelphia Road (see his advertisement in the *Maryland Journal* Nov. 1, 1785). I think this tavern was at Cowenton or White Marsh. The new road or "cut off" crossed the old road at the place which we used to call Knight's Corner, which is now called Pensil's Corner. From there to the bridge over the B. & O. Railroad, along the western edge of Lorelev, was called "the Race Course." It is a section of the old road. The old Free School stood there. The road from this bridge to Cowenton or White Marsh is a part of the old road and is called the Red Lion Road.

<sup>30</sup> *Acts of the Maryland Assembly*, Apr. 1787, Chap. XXIX.

1787. In the *Maryland Journal* of February 19, 1788, the commissioners appointed under the aforesaid act gave notice that "they propose to have a wooden bridge erected over the Great Falls of Gunpowder River at or near Paxton's Saw Mill." The Act provided for a "good and substantial" bridge, at which a gate or turnpike was to be erected for the collection of tolls.

A number of years seems to have elapsed after the passing of this act before the Forges bridge (as it was always called in my time) was built. Dennis Griffith's *Map of the State of Maryland* (1794) shows neither the bridge nor the new road, but shows only the Long Calm road, on either side the Great Falls.<sup>31</sup> However, a 1792 map shows the new road by means of a *single* line.<sup>32</sup> My opinion is that the new road and bridge were then still under construction. At any rate, by 1802 both were certainly finished and in regular use.<sup>33</sup>

In my childhood there was always something mysterious about this old covered bridge and its setting. The hills on either side of the Falls at this place were heavily wooded then, and great forest trees leaned out over the water from the banks. Near the

<sup>31</sup> The identity of the Long Calm road is established by the fact that immediately below it, on the west side of the Falls, there is indicated a forge marked "Ridgely's."

<sup>32</sup> Map 287, Portfolio 159 HR. "The Post Road from the Lower ferry on the Susquehanna Laid down agreeable to the courses and distances made by Mr. James Baker for James Webster and John Bouldin, 1792." Also shown thereon is the "road from the Free School to the Long Calm," thence to the Little Falls. I take the single line to mean an unfinished or projected road. On an undated map by Bouldin, styled "a Map of a Road out From Onion's Works to Baltimore Town" the new road is clearly marked; also the old road marked "Long Calm" road and the Long Calm ford (Map No. 289, Portfolio 159 HR).

<sup>33</sup> *The Traveller's Directory*, plate 14, shows two mills on the eastern side, of the Great Falls, adjacent to the bridge, called "Squabble Mills." One of these mills was Paxton's. In 1914 I was informed by Miss Fanny Sollers, aged about eighty, who lived at the covered bridge on the Little Falls between Jerusalem and Jericho, that her mother drove the first wagon over the Forges bridge. Miss Sollers' mother was at one time housekeeper for Harry Dorsey Gough at Perry Hall. Her father lived on the Forges property, then Ridgely's, and worked for the Pattersons at the Joppa Iron Works, near the mouth of the Great Falls. There is recorded among the land records of Baltimore County a deed from Samuel Paxton, of Baltimore County, miller, to Jesse Tyson, conveying part of "Wignall's Rest" and other tracts of land, 77½ acres in all, situated on or near the Great Falls of Gunpowder "together with said Paxton's right to ferry across said river and the ferry boat and privilege of bringing the water of the first run of water falling into the said river on the north side *above the present mill* upon any part of the lands in which he has a right." The date of this deed in Feb. 21, 1803. It proves conclusively that Paxton (or Paxson's) mill was situated *below* the first branch of the Great Falls (sometimes called James's Park Branch), on the site of Patterson's Iron Works. (BCLR, Liber W. G. No. 76, f. 588).

**CE** western end of the bridge stood a large, ramshackle building, a tenement house for colored people, that had once been a road-house. Hard by this building were the ruins of one of the old forges. Downstream, near the head of tidewater, on the left bank of the Falls were the impressive remains of the Joppa Iron Works, known locally as the Big Mills. The old Forges bridge had a bad reputation among the neighbors for being haunted.<sup>34</sup>

#### NAVIGABILITY OF GUNPOWDER RIVER AND THE TWO "FALLS"

It is an accepted fact that seagoing vessels sailed from the port of Joppa, at the head of Gunpowder River. The silting-up of the channel of Gunpowder River and the rivalry of Baltimore are supposed to have caused the decline of this town, which was eventually abandoned. The appearance of mud islands and alluvial land in the area between the Pennsylvania railroad bridge and the head of the river seems to have begun in the past century. By 1836 alluvial deposits had extended the mouth of the Great Falls half a mile, approximately to North's Landing, as well as the mouth of the small creek which in my day was called Crossmore's Slough. Elsewhere in the area above mentioned there was open water.<sup>35</sup> This alluvial peninsula was Day's Fishery, an island which, when taken up in 1770, contained only 4½ acres, but which now contains many times that number.<sup>36</sup> As late as

<sup>34</sup> The late Mr. Edward Reynolds (1854-1927) of "Sherwood," near Upper Falls, Balt. Co., a neighbor and lifelong friend of my family, related to me a curious experience which he had, now many years ago, one night at the Forges bridge. He was, I should say, a country gentleman of parts, not at all superstitious, a total abstainer, absolutely intrepid. He was walking home alone rather late and his way led across the Forges bridge. On drawing near to the western end of the bridge he heard a sound as of a vehicle coming down the hill on the other side of the Falls. He heard next a rumble as of wheels, and a pounding as of horse's hoofs, on the floor of the bridge, but saw nothing. Suddenly the sound ceased. Mr. Reynolds walked onto and across the bridge, expecting to meet a carriage or wagon, but there was no carriage or wagon on the bridge, or anywhere to be seen on the other side. He told me he could not account for this experience.

<sup>35</sup> See *Map and Profile of the Balt and Port-Deposit Rail Road as Located and now under Construction to a point near Havre de Grace*, drawn by H. R. Hazlehurst, January, 1836. My copy of this map came out of the Day papers, and was given by me to MdHS.

<sup>36</sup> Perhaps more than anything else, the history of "Day's Fishery" illustrates the filling in of the head of Gunpowder River. The land was taken up by Edward Day, of "Taylor's Mount," Nov. 21, 1770, and was patented in 1815 to his grandson, John Young Day, the younger (d. 1879). (Land Office Pat. Cert. No. 1358, Balt. Co.). My family inherited it from Mr. Day, a close relation, and held it until 1920. Trustees for my mother's estate lately sold an interest in the property.

1823 the river was navigable for vessels carrying 1,000 to 1,500 bushels of grain up to a landing in the Fork on the old Charmony Hall farm.<sup>37</sup> At the present time mud flats extend far out from shore at this place; and the Great Falls curves around through these flats to Joppa, where it meets the Little Falls. The filling up of the head of the river was blamed on the railroad bridge which was erected in 1836. It was supposed to have acted as a dam, thus causing the deposition of alluvion.<sup>38</sup>

The ancient mouth of the Great Falls of Gunpowder was about half a mile below the Pulaski Highway, a little beyond the lower end of Diver's (or Taylor's) Island, the upper end of which was close to the B. & O. Railroad bridge. There was a point at the mouth of the Falls, and east of it a cove; then came the mouth of the small creek called the Slough. There was also a cove on the west side the mouth of the Falls. Between the Highway and the alluvial land called Day's Fishery, the Great Falls and the Slough, lies Little Neck field, ancient fast land taken up in colonial times.<sup>39</sup> The Pulaski Highway crosses Diver's Island.<sup>40</sup>

Mr. Day ran the place as a commercial fishing shore. Profitable seine fishing went on at the head of Gunpowder River well into the second half of the past century. The late Mr. Edward Reynolds, writing in 1924, declared that his 1500 foot seine often made large hauls of shad, rockfish and herring. In 1924 he remembered the time, some forty years before, when there was a sandy beach at Joppa and six foot of water offshore. (Edward Reynolds, "Joppa Town—now Joppa Farm" (1924), MS, Maryland Room, Enoch Pratt Free Library, Baltimore.)

<sup>37</sup> Joseph R. Ford in the Baltimore *American*, Mar. 26, 1823, advertises for sale "Charmony," 900 acres, described as being situated on the Great Falls of Gunpowder River, "adjoining the extensive manufacturing establishments of Messrs. J. W. & E. Patterson [The Joppa Iron Works] and Gov. Ridgely" [Ridgely's Forges] . . . bounded on one side by the river for 1/2 mile mavigable to the bank for vessels carrying 1000 to 1500 barrels of grain." I think this means the river, not the Falls). The kernel of this old property, which in revolutionary times belonged to John Paul, a Loyalist, was in the possession of John Hammond Dorsey in late colonial times (d. 1774). The Dorsey mansion stood a short distance to the eastwards of the Jones's farm road, overlooking the flats, on the brow of the hill, about 1/4 of a mile E. of the Pulaski Highway. Its site was, until recently, marked by a hole in the ground. In my time this farm belonged to the Crossmore family, which sold it in 1917 to the Jones brothers, truckers, from Patapsco Neck.

<sup>38</sup> According to the tradition in my family, our near relation, John Young Day (1803-1879), of "Bellevue," successfully sued the Philadelphia, Wilmington and Baltimore railroad company for the damage which the bridge would do to his two fisheries, namely, Day's Fishery and Joiner's Point.

<sup>39</sup> Little Neck Field is composed of "Foxhall" or "Vauxhall," surveyed, 1669, for Richard Whitton, and "Owners' Landing," taken up in 1735 by Thomas Franklin and Thomas Gittings (this author's ancestor). Crossmore's Slough appears to be an ancient arm of the Great Falls. The old shoreline of Gunpowder River is clearly traceable at the eastern end of Little Neck.

<sup>40</sup> Diver's Island was named for Annanias Divers, who owned the property



The Joppa Iron Works (Patterson's) closed down, according to Scharf, about the beginning of the Civil War. Up to that time he says first class vessels came up the Great Falls to Diver's Island and "the embankments of the wharves are still to be seen."<sup>41</sup> The "vessels" were still traditional in my time; and so were the rockfish which used to be caught in the rapid water below the first falls of the river, above the railroad bridge. Still to be seen even today are the iron rings fastened by bolts to the rocks at the foot of these falls within sight of the ruins of the "Big Mills." This is the spot which Captain John Smith may have seen.

The Little Falls was formerly navigable to the (then) head of tidewater, which was at the rocks immediately below the bridge on the (old) Philadelphia road. Round and about this place were the sites of Onion's Iron Works. Bateau and scows commonly came up the Falls from Joppa to this place in colonial times, and even later.<sup>42</sup>

### THE TWO DEEP HOLES

The Deep Hole of Gunpowder River lies about three quarters of a mile off Rickett's Point, in the direction of Carroll's Point. The Deep Hole of Bush River lies a little over a quarter of a

between the Little Falls and Charmony Hall, and around Bradshaw, in the Fork. As far as I know, his brick house is still standing. In the time of Col. Benjamin F. Taylor, who followed Benjamin Buck as owner, it was known as "Mount Peru." Scharf gives quite an account of it. It now belongs to Mr. Harry U. Riepe. Benjamin Buck, who married a Diver, was living on this property in 1835 and gave his name to Buck's Gut, once a reedbird hunter's paradise.

<sup>41</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 925.

<sup>42</sup> In the *Maryland Gazette*, Aug. 17, 1769, Zachaeus Onion offered for sale Onion's Iron Works, consisting of 2 large forges, a furnace, a grist mill, a saw mill, 7 dwelling houses, a chair house (carriage house), &c., "all the above in the circumference of 500 yards." These works are described as situated on the Little Falls of Gunpowder River, "at the Head of navigable water, where the tide Ebbs and Flows Three or Four feet, within three perches of the Furnace Door, which is very commodious, on Account that they may load Boats and Scows at the Work's Doors, and have no Land Carriage. Joppa is but one mile from the said works, where large craft receive any kind of Freight, to any port;" &c. In the *Maryland Journal*, Jan. 23, 1784, the merchant and saw mill at Onion's Works on the Little Falls of Gunpowder is offered for sale. It is there represented that there is "sufficient water for large batteaux to pass and repass from the door of the mill to Joppa." In the *Maryland Journal*, July 31, 1787, William McComas and John B. Onion offer to let a merchant mill and a saw mill, situated on the Little Falls of Gunpowder River, in Harford County: "Both lie on tide water where a scow may lie at the doors and there take in a load of 200 barrels of flour, scantling and planks, and where she may deliver the load with  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile to as large a bay craft as sails from the city of Joppa."



mile off Briery Point, Gunpowder Neck, in the direction of Sutton's Cove (Bar Cove), Bush River Neck. In 1937 the Deep Hole of Gunpowder River was thirty-three feet deep; the Deep Hole of Bush River, forty-four.<sup>43</sup> The latter was dependable as place of last resort for those who went fishing from the Philadelphia Club House (the Philadelphia Gunning Club). It must be close to sixty years since I fished there with my father for the first time. A most experienced fisherman, John Welsh, of the Philadelphia Club House, was our guide, if we could get him. He was a colored man of striking appearance, perhaps with a strain of Indian blood. He was born and raised in Gunpowder Neck. The Deep Hole never failed, but it lacked variety. As far as I know, only white perch were caught there. Occasionally we lost our hooks, on some timbers, supposed to be remains of an old wreck, at the bottom of the Deep Hole.

#### JERUSALEM—JERICHO—JOPPA

This combination of names has excited not a little curiosity, since its origins have been lost to human memory. The late Mr. Harold Walsh, of "The Mound," Harford County, whose maternal grandfather Lee was the owner of the mill at Jerusalem, was wont to comment on it. Jerusalem is the earliest of the three. There is no reason to suppose that it suggested Joppa, but it did, in all probability, suggest Jericho. Jerusalem is situated on the Little Gunpowder Falls, about three miles above the (old) Philadelphia road. Jericho lies on the Falls, mid-way between Jerusalem and Franklinville. The river bottom below Franklinville, where the road crosses over the Falls from Baltimore to Harford County, is called Egypt. The hill which descends to the Falls down to Egypt is called Vinegar Hill.<sup>44</sup> "Jerusalem," 318 acres, was surveyed for Nicholas Hempstead and John Walley.

<sup>43</sup> U. S. Dept. of Comm. chart of the Chesapeake Bay, Sandy Point to Head of Bay, 1937.

<sup>44</sup> This name has been attributed to the fact that Vinegar Hill is extremely steep: a sour experience in the "horse and buggy days." A local saying ascribed to my grandfather Gittings has it: "Always trust in the Lord, until the breeching breaks, going down Vinegar Hill." There is little doubt in my mind that Vinegar Hill is an imported name. It is a Monmouthshire place name, also the name of a hill in County Wexford, Ireland. Possibly cotton-factory employees at Franklinville named our Vinegar Hill for the place from which they came.

May 25, 1687.<sup>45</sup> It is most unlikely that any settlement was made thereon before 1700. In the course of time the land patent name became a place name, as witness the following notice which is taken from the court proceedings of Baltimore County, November court, 1755: "Thomas Bond Jun [is appointed overseer of the roads] from Jerusalem to the widow Talbots and from Edward Thorpe to Bulls Mill and from the little Falls by John Bonds till it intersects the first mentioned road."<sup>46</sup>

There appears to have been a saw mill at Jerusalem, when, on September 7, 1772, Isaiah Linton, of Baltimore County, miller, sold to David Lee, of the same county, miller, the lands on which Mr. Lee soon afterwards erected his mill, known thereafter as Jerusalem Mills, which is still standing.<sup>47</sup> Mr. Lee (1740-1816) came to Maryland from Bucks County, Pennsylvania.

On December 16, 1774, the same Isaiah Linton gave bond to Elisha Tyson for the conveyance of "*a merchant mill*" and 280 acres of land on the Little Falls of Gunpowder River. From this record we might draw the inference that Jericho Mill was built by Linton, not by Tyson.<sup>48</sup> The old Tyson house still stands on an eminence on the left hand side of the road going from Franklinville to Jerusalem Mills. Elisha Tyson (1750-1824), a native of Pennsylvania, lived in this house for years, but finally removed to Baltimore.<sup>49</sup> The old Jericho mill was down the Falls from the Tyson house, in the meadow where Brown's or Dimmitt's Branch empties into the river. It was standing in my day, and

<sup>45</sup> Calvert Papers No. 883, f. 126.

<sup>46</sup> Balt. Co. Court Minutes, 1755-1763, HR.

<sup>47</sup> BCLR, Liber A. L. No. E, f. 383. The land so conveyed was part of "Jerusalem" and part of "Bond's Water Mills." This deed calls for "the saw mill dam."

<sup>48</sup> BCLR, Liber A. L. No. M, f. 478, 481. The land conveyed was part of "Bond's Water Mills" and part of "James's Forrest." I do not understand, if there was a mill already on this property, what mill it was. On June 28, 1776, Elisha Tyson addressed a letter to the Council of Safety, in which he stated that he was planning to erect a grist mill on the Little Falls of Gunpowder River about three miles above Joppa, and that a dam had already been built and a mill-race dug. He proposed to change his plans and to erect a powder mill, if he could borrow the money which he needed. His proposition was probably turned down. (*Archives of Maryland*, XI, 531-532.)

<sup>49</sup> In the *Maryland Journal*, Feb. 12, 1782, Elisha Tyson, Gay Street (Baltimore), advertised for sale two mills situated on the Little Falls of Gunpowder River, on a tract of land called "Bond's Water Mills." It appears that one of these mills was his own, the other, Gwinn's. Jericho Mill was not sold at this time, but remained for many years in the Tyson family. On Robert Taylor's *Map of the City and County of Baltimore* (1857), we find "N. Tyson, Jericho" on the Little Falls.

was sometimes used for church fairs. It was connected with the highway by a foot bridge, which was washed away during a violent thunderstorm, not less than sixty years ago.<sup>50</sup>

The merchant mill of William Gwinn stood on the site of Franklinville and was built before 1782.<sup>51</sup> It was destroyed by a flood in 1786,<sup>52</sup> but was rebuilt.<sup>53</sup>

The author has in his possession three family letters, all written in 1844, and addressed to a gentleman farmer, Col. Edward Aquila Howard, at Franklinville, Baltimore County. I have no earlier record of the name of this place, which appears on Sidney and Brown's Map of Baltimore County, 1850.<sup>54</sup>

According to the legend on a plate affixed to the north wall of the cotton factory at Franklinville, these mills were erected in 1826 and rebuilt in 1893.<sup>55</sup> Scharf, writing in 1881, says that the cotton factory was built in 1825; that it was destroyed by fire and Hugh Semmes rebuilt it.<sup>56</sup> I find that on June 5, 1827, Isaac and Nathan Tyson sold to Dean Walker the land on which the factory was (subsequently?) built. Walker sold part of his interest to Messrs. Shaw and Tiffany in 1828, which included "factories, water rights and other privileges, particularly the privilege of raising and backing by dams or otherwise the water of the said river called the Little Falls of Gunpowder." The company was known as

<sup>50</sup> It was the night of the annual fair of St. John's Church, Kingsville, about 1892. My family had a booth at this fair, and I was there. Fortunately for us, we got home before the storm broke; otherwise we should have been isolated in the mill by the raging waters.

<sup>51</sup> See William Gwinn's advertisement in the *Maryland Journal*, Mar. 12, 1782.

<sup>52</sup> *Maryland Journal*, Oct. 10, 1786.

<sup>53</sup> Griffith's *Map of Maryland* (1794) shows Lee's, Tyson's and Gwinn's mills on the Little Gunpowder Falls. A Particular Tax List of Baltimore County, 1794, (MdHS) gives the following information: William Gwynn, George Bond, occupant, 1 tract of land and improvements, including 1 mill of stone, 38 x 28 feet, "Much out of Repair and laying useless. Adjoining Jesse Tyson and the little fawls."

<sup>54</sup> There was a forge called Franklin Forges which I have been unable to identify. On Dec. 17, 1787, John Weston, aged 45 years, testifying in the suit of Josias Pennington against Benjamin Griffith, deposed that he had known both parties 17 or 18 years, during part of which time the plaintiff had resided "at a place of his own near Franklin Forges." The plaintiff was the great-grandfather of the late Josias Pennington, the Baltimore architect. John Weston was proprietor of the Kingsbury Furnace in Baltimore County. He married Rebecca (Young) Day, the widow of Edward Day, Esq., of "Taylor's Mount," and died at his seat "Orkney" Harford County, in 1812 (Chancery Proc., Liber 30, f. 19, HR).

<sup>55</sup> The author has not read this "inscription" for years. For a copy, see John Blatter Mahool, Jr., *The Mahool Family of Baltimore and its Branches* (1955), p. 18. Mr. Mahool gives an interesting history of Franklinville.

<sup>56</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 924.

the Baltimore Manufacturing Company. In 1839 James Mahool, formerly of Baltimore, was taken into partnership.<sup>87</sup>

Robert Taylor's *Map of the City and County of Baltimore* (1857) shows the Franklinville Iron Works, Messrs. Ferguson and Abbott, proprietors. These works were situated at the lower end of Franklinville, on the Falls, at the place which we, the natives, call Egypt. Scharf tells us that Whitaker's Furnace was erected at this place about 1810 as a spade factory, and that Mr. Horace Abbott purchased these works and converted them into a forge for the making of shafts for steam vessels.<sup>88</sup> Shafts for the Russian Navy were made there, because no other place of the kind could undertake the job, and they were got out with ox teams, with great difficulty.<sup>89</sup> Mr. Abbott, a native of Massachusetts, and John J. Ferguson acquired the land on which the Franklinville Iron Works were built in 1847.<sup>90</sup> Very few traces of these works remain today.

The author has never made a serious study of old Joppa Town, now Joppa farm. Some very competent historians and antiquaries have treated of the subject, and their articles on Joppa are available. All that this author has to offer are a few more or less unrelated, disconnected items, which he has not observed in any of the articles about Joppa which he has read.<sup>91</sup> They are as follows:

<sup>87</sup> BCLR, Liber W. G. No. 188, f. 372; Liber W. G. No. 277, f. 384. Act of Incorporation in *Laws of Maryland*, Dec. Sess., 1839. The land conveyed as stated above was part of "Groome's Chance" and part of "Bond's Water Mills Resurveyed," which last was patented to Israel Morris and William Gwynn, May 23, 1786. It lies partly in Baltimore County, partly in Harford County.

<sup>88</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 925.

<sup>89</sup> For this information I am indebted to Mr. John Gilman D'Arcy Paul, whose maternal grandfather, the late John Stratton Gilman, eminent banker and industrialist, and a native of Hollowell, Maine, was at one time a member of this firm.

<sup>90</sup> BCLR, Liber A. W. B. No. 412, f. 69. The land therein conveyed is part of "Bond's Water Mills." The parties of the first part were the executors of the will of Samuel Keyser of Baltimore. Mr. Keyser acquired an interest in the property in 1825. I was unable to trace the title to any one named Whitaker. Scharf says that Frank Whitaker was one of the later owners. William Gwinn (Gwynn) sold it to John James in 1798, who, in 1811, sold it to Upton Reid and Rees Davis (BCLR, Liber W. G. No. 175, f. 34). In 1825 Upton Reid, with David Keyser and Jacob Crawford, mortgaged the property to Samuel Keyser and Christian A. Schaeffer (*ibid.*). I believe Scharf is correct in saying there were iron works there years before the time of Messrs. Abbott and Ferguson. On an old plat in my possession, drawn in 1818, the present Franklinville road is described as a "road leading from the old Joppa Road to the Tilt-mill road."

<sup>91</sup> Scharf's account of Joppa, in his *History of Baltimore City and County*, pp. 923, 924; Gerald Griffin's "A Lost Town of Early Maryland," *Baltimore Sun*, Nov. 21,

In the beginning Joppa was known also as Gunpowder Town.<sup>62</sup> The late Edward Reynolds, the best antiquary of that neighborhood, records the tradition that there was a shipyard at Joppa at which vessels were built during the Revolutionary war. This tradition, while not confirmed, finds some support in the fact that Captain John Sewell (d. 1805) was taxed in 1783 on a "Joppa-lott & ship yard."<sup>63</sup> In 1747 the Maryland Assembly passed an act authorizing public tobacco inspection warehouses at various convenient places in Baltimore County, including one "to be kept at Joppa, at the Ferry Landing, near the Point House on Gunpowder River."<sup>64</sup> In 1773 a public warehouse for inspection of tobacco was authorized to be kept at the same place.<sup>65</sup> Cultivation of tobacco in Baltimore and Harford Counties was then already nearing its end. A deed from John Hall to James Christie and John Boyd, dated October 11, 1762, calls for "all that parcell or lot of land situate on Gunpowder River between the same river and the said towne of Joppa near the Inspection house and the store house of David McCulloh in the same

1941; Edward Reynolds' "Joppa Town—now Joppa Farm" and Messrs. Albrecht, Shelley and Trautman's "A Lost Town of Maryland" in Maryland Room, EPFL.

<sup>62</sup> BCCP, Liber I. S. No. B., f. 42, June Court, 1709: the court orders a prison to be built "in Gunpowder Town alias Joppa."

<sup>63</sup> Tax-List of Gunpowder Upper and Lower Hundreds, Harford Co., 1783, Scharf Papers, MdHS. Sewell's was the only ship-yard listed. Captain John Sewall was a vestryman of St. John's Parish. If I am not mistaken, he was the son of James and Mary (Harrison?) Sewell, of Calvert County, and was born Nov. 21, 1741. He married, March 5, 1780, (family record) Elizabeth Young, sister of Rebecca Young (Later Mrs. Weston), second wife of Edward Day of "Taylor's Mount." They were the nieces of Colonel William Young (1711-1772) of "Nanjemoy," Baltimore County, who is mentioned in this article. On June 6, 1777, the Council of Safety addressed a letter to Benjamin Rumsey, Esq., of Joppa, concerning certain war vessels called "row gallies," one of which was laid up at Joppa. The Council deplored the fact that it was unable to get either cordage or hands for these vessels, and advised Mr. Rumsey to see to it that upper works of the one at Joppa be kept wet. (*Archives*, XVI, 279-80.) This ship may have been built at Joppa, at Sewell's shipyard.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, XLIV, 609. At one time there were two tobacco inspection houses on the head of Gunpowder River, not more than a mile apart, one at Joppa and the other at the Fork of the river. In 1757 the court of Baltimore County appointed Walter Tolley and Robert Adair, gent., to try the weights at the Joppa and the Fork Inspection Warehouses. (BCCP, June Court, 1757, f. 39.) In 1759 Col. William Young was appointed overseer of the roads "from the Long Calm to Mr. Dean's Run [Broad Run] from thence to Onion's Iron Works, from thence to the Long Calm & from the Fork Ware House till it intersects the Forrest Road above Mr. Bordley's" (BCCP, Nov. Court, 1759). In 1766 the Assembly abolished the Fork Inspection House (*Archives*, LXI, 244).

<sup>65</sup> *Archives*, LXIV, 159.

town."<sup>66</sup> Evidently the inspection house stood at the ferry landing. On August 31, 1770, John Hall and wife conveyed to Benjamin Rumsey of Cecil County (his brother-in-law) and wife some 462 acres adjacent to the town of Joppa, beginning for one parcel "at a bounded double white wood tree [blue beech?] at Gunpowder Ferry landing on the North Shore and on the Point making the mouth of the north branch of Gunpowder River."<sup>67</sup> In my opinion the ferry landing on the north side of the river was always at that place, the "stony bar" of the old records. On December 14, 1771, the Justices of Baltimore County conveyed the prison in Joppa to John Beale Howard, to whom John Byrd, the original purchaser had assigned it.<sup>68</sup> The same year Corbin Lee sold Mr. Howard one quarter of an acre, part of a tract of land called "Westminister," situated adjacent to the town of Joppa, on Temple Street.<sup>69</sup> This record establishes the fact that a street had been laid out outside of the town. A deed from John Hall to Corbin Lee, October 11, 1763, conveys a piece of land on Gunpowder River, on the south side of the town of Joppa.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>66</sup> RCLR, Liber B. No. D, f. 349.

<sup>67</sup> BCLR, Liber A. L. No. B., f. 525. Virtually the same words describe the beginning of "Westminister," a resurvey on part of "Taylor's Choice," made for Hannah Johns, Nov. 13, 1734. They fix the site of the ferry landing as of that year where it was many years later (Rumsey Papers as copied by Dr. George W. Archer, Harford Co. Hist. Soc. Papers at MdHS). This survey is recorded at the Land Office.

<sup>68</sup> BCLR, Liber A. L. No. D., f. 174.

<sup>69</sup> BCLR, Liber A. L. No. C., f. 742. Col. John Beale Howard (d. 1799) purchased in 1771, the land on which he built the country house, since 1845, Reynold's, still standing, near Upper Falls, called "Sherwood," or "Sherwood Forest." According to tradition the timbers of this house (as to which there is said to be visible evidence that they were once used for another building), came from Joppa. Col. Howard married Blanche, daughter of Parker Hall, and they were the parents of Col. John Beale Howard, Jr., of "Sherwood" (1770-1835). The latter was probably born at Joppa. Among the Rumsey Papers I find the following record, which is interesting in the present connection: Samuel Paxson, trustee under a decree (of Chancery?), 4 Sept., 1792, sold to John McGowan, a lot in the town of Joppa as Corbin Lee's Half Lot, formerly belonging to John Beale Howard, "beginning at the end of the N. 83 and 3.4 degrees West line of the Lot by John Hall & Hannah his wife sold to a certain Beale Bordley." In this deed mention is made of a street 40 feet wide called Pitt Street "leading all along the binding on the S. side of the Towne of Joppa by a straight line from the Inspection House to the street or way opened by sd John Hall and Hannah his wife lying along the east side of Bordley's aforesaid continued in a straight line from the River to the Court House Ground for the width of 30 ft called Temple Street with the use of sd street as per deed from Corbin Lee & wife to John B. Howard bearing date 4 Sept., 1771." The original copy was made by Judge Benjamin Rumsey (d. 1808.)

<sup>70</sup> BCLR, Liber B. No. L., f. 56.



This deed calls for two streets, Temple Street, and Pitt Street. The historians whom I have consulted do not mention these streets. The old court-house in Joppa, and the land whereon it stood, was sold to Benjamin Rumsey by Thomas Franklin and others, commissioners, in 1773.<sup>71</sup> Scharf, writing in 1881, says that at the time of writing, when Mr. James Murray, a Scotsman of good family, owned Joppa farm and lived there, there were to be seen "in his orchard . . . the cellars and foundations of the ancient court house."<sup>72</sup> This remark, applicable to the year 1881, apparently disposes of the theory that the Rumsey mansion, which is still standing, is none other than the court house. According to local tradition, Judge Rumsey caused a number of old warehouses at Joppa to be demolished, because they had become the resort of low characters. There is in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society an old plat or map, showing the head of Gunpowder River, whereon are inscribed the likenesses of several houses or mansions, namely the Day house on "Taylor's Mount," "Capt. Tolley's," "Captain Dorsey's," and "Benjamin Rumsey's Esq." On the river, off Joppa, are seen under sail a brigantine and a sloop.<sup>73</sup> This map is not dated; but there is internal evidence that it is no earlier than 1770, and no later than 1774.<sup>74</sup>

### POOLE'S ISLAND

It is this author's opinion that Poole's Island was named by Captain John Smith and that it bears the name of one of the men who accompanied him on voyage to the head of Chesapeake Bay, in 1608—Nathaniel Powell.<sup>75</sup> On the map on which this voyage is illustrated, published in 1612, we find "Powels Iles"<sup>76</sup> near

<sup>71</sup> BCLR, Liber A. L. No. H., f. 385, 386.

<sup>72</sup> Scharf, *op. cit.*

<sup>73</sup> For the identification of these vessels I am indebted to Mr. Richard Harding Randall.

<sup>74</sup> This map was presented to the MdHS by the late Miss Mary Forman Day, who died in 1950, in her ninetyeth year. Miss Day was the last Day owner of "Taylor's Mount," which was sold in 1917, at which time it contained between four and five hundred acres.

<sup>75</sup> This was the opinion of the Hon. Walter W. Preston, *History of Harford County, Maryland* (Baltimore, 1901), p. 14. Powell was a member of the Council of Virginia and died in the Indian massacre (*Narratives of Early Virginia, op. cit.*, p. 360).

<sup>76</sup> I am at a loss to account for the plural. Although divided by a marsh, Pooles Island never looked to me like two islands.

the western shore of the Bay and at the mouth of Willoughby River. In Great Britain Powell is pronounced *pōle*.<sup>77</sup> If I am right, then Poole's Island is probably the oldest extant place name of British origin in Maryland excepting Watkins Point.

Poole's Island is mentioned in the journal of Cyprian Thorowgood, an Indian trader, who made a voyage to the head of the Bay, April 25 to May 15, 1634.<sup>78</sup> In his *Journal of the Dutch Embassy to Maryland*, Augustine Herman, under date of October 3, 1659, makes a casual mention of Poole's Island.<sup>79</sup> "Pools Island," 200 acres, was taken up by Capt. Robert Morris, July 27, 1659.<sup>80</sup> On March 14, 1706, John Morris, of London, merchant, brother and heir-at-law of Robert Morris, deceased, who was the eldest son of Robert Morris of London, mariner, sold the island to John Carville of the Province of Maryland, merchant,<sup>81</sup> in whose family it remained for many years. The Maryland Assembly on June 5, 1668, appointed Poole's Island as a place for the unloading of goods.<sup>82</sup> On September 6, 1771, John Carville of Kent County sold Poole's Island to John Beale Bordley, the well-known agriculturist.<sup>83</sup> The island then contained, by resurvey, 255 acres. In the *Baltimore American* of December 15, 1808, Poole's Island, late the property of William Middleton, deceased, was offered for sale.<sup>84</sup>

Writing in 1801 in his *Essay and Notes on Husbandry and Rural Affairs*, John Beale Bordley has quite a little to say about Poole's Island.<sup>85</sup> The island was divided into two fields. Tobacco had been cultivated there until about 1771. Indian corn had been

<sup>77</sup> For confirmation of this fact I addressed a letter of inquiry to the Right Reverend Noble C. Powell, and am indebted to Bishop Powell for the following answer: "It is my understanding that Powell, in the old country and especially in Wales, is pronounced as though it were spelled Pole."

<sup>78</sup> A Relation of a Voyage made by Cyprian Thorowgood to the head of the Bay of Chesapeake, 1634. MS. EPFL.

<sup>79</sup> Clayton Coleman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), p. 317. Judge Thomas Jones of Patapsco Neck, in his journal, March, 1782, remarks that two British ships had come up the Bay to Pooles Island.

<sup>80</sup> Calvert Papers 883, f. 124.

<sup>81</sup> BCLR, Liber T. K. No. A., f. 170.

<sup>82</sup> *Archives*, V, 31.

<sup>83</sup> Balt. Co. Rent Roll, Vol. 1, HR. Pooles Island, 255 acres, lying near the mouth of Gunpowder River. Resurveyed 31 Dec., 1734, for John Carvill of Kent County. John Beale Bordley from John Carvill, Sept. 6, 1771.

<sup>84</sup> Mr. Bordley says of Mr. Middleton that he was an excellent farmer, bred to the sea (Bordley, *Husbandry*, 1801, p. 58.)

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

cultivated there from time immemorial. Wheat was introduced about 1751. The island was extremely fertile, and wheat and corn lands were never manured. Mr. Bordley believed that at the time of writing it had been under cultivation for one hundred and twenty years. In the past century Poole's Island was known for its peach orchards. In 1937 the author walked around the island, looking for Indian shell-heaps. None of any importance was found.

According to information supplied by the National Archives, the lighthouse on Poole's Island, Maryland, was established in 1825. In 1917 the lighthouse personnel were removed and the light continued unattended until 1939, when it was turned over to the War Department.<sup>80</sup>

*(To be continued)*

<sup>80</sup> Letter, June 4, 1957, to author from A. E. Carlson, Commander, USCG, Asst. Chief, Public Information Division.

## ROGER BROOKE TANEY'S ACCOUNT OF HIS RELATIONS WITH THOMAS ELLCOTT IN THE BANK WAR

Edited by STUART BRUCHEY

TO the general student the name of Roger Brooke Taney is usually associated with the notorious Dred Scott decision which Taney, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, handed down in 1857. He is less well known for his important role in the classic struggle between Jackson and Biddle over the fate of the Second Bank of the United States. As Attorney General, a position to which Jackson had named him in 1831, Taney was the only cabinet member to advocate a flat presidential veto of the recharter bill.<sup>2</sup> Taking his stand on grounds of both constitutionality and expediency, Taney proceeded to compose the legal and perhaps also to revise the political part of the Veto Message.<sup>3</sup> He then suggested that the President withdraw the public monies from the Bank of the United States and use state institutions as depositories for federal funds.<sup>4</sup> These state institutions were the so-called "pet banks" (Taney refers to them in the accompanying manuscript as "Deposit Banks"). When the incumbent Secretary of the Treasury refused to comply with the Presidential directive to remove the deposits he was discharged and Taney chosen in his place.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For assistance in preparing this manuscript for publication I wish to thank Prof. Carl B. Swisher of the Johns Hopkins University, Dr. Elizabeth Merritt of the Maryland Historical Society, and my wife, Eleanor Stephens Bruchey.

Taney's draft contains dozens of deletions, but most of them are illegible. Those deleted parts which could be read and seemed worthy of inclusion have been italicized and placed within angle brackets. Minor changes have been made in the text where there has been an obvious slip of the pen, such as the omission of punctuation at the end of a sentence, or writing the same word twice, *and and*, for example.

<sup>2</sup> Carl B. Swisher, *Roger B. Taney* (New York, 1935), pp. 191, 193-194.

<sup>3</sup> Fritz Redlich, *The Molding of American Banking, Men and Ideas*, Part I (New York, 1951), p. 174.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

<sup>5</sup> Swisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 233-234.

That was in September, 1833. Some ten years before, a friendship had begun between Taney and a Baltimore banker named Thomas Ellicott, a friendship which ripened, to use Taney's own expression, to terms of "intimacy." Scholars have long known that Ellicott exerted an important influence in the development of Taney's antipathy towards the Bank of the United States, and that it was he who suggested the pet bank scheme<sup>6</sup> which Taney in turn relayed to Jackson. The accompanying manuscript, composed by Taney in 1839,<sup>7</sup> not only confirms these facts while clarifying the probable motives behind Ellicott's suggestion; it also sheds new light on the nature of the relationship between the two men.

For reasons which the document makes clear, their cordial relationship dissolved in the heat of the Bank War. One of the chief fears of the bankers who supported the plan to establish pet banks had been that Biddle, President of the Bank of the United States, might succeed in destroying the new depositories by ordering the various Branch Banks to refuse, in their settlements of balances with the pet banks, any United States Bank notes except those payable at the particular Branch involved in the settling. This refusal would result in large debit balances which the pet banks could then only discharge in the form of specie. To protect the specie holdings of the new depositories Taney therefore yielded to the suggestion that key pet banks be armed with drafts on the government funds in the Bank of the United States. The use of these so-called "transfer drafts" was to be contingent upon need—upon circumstances of pressure generated by Biddle. Since the Union Bank of Maryland, of which Ellicott was president, had been selected (by Jackson himself) as the new government depository in Baltimore, Taney responded to evidence that Biddle would probably exert pressure in that center by placing transfer drafts in Ellicott's hands. Ellicott in indecent haste indorsed the drafts to the order of the Bank of Maryland, a separate institution in which he had private speculative interests.<sup>8</sup> Despite this and later transfusions, the Bank of

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92; Redlich, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

<sup>7</sup> On a small piece of paper found with the manuscript Taney has written:

"1839

Remarks on Mr. Ellicott's pamphlet.—"

<sup>8</sup> These statements are based upon the manuscript itself, except that, in deference

Maryland failed in March, 1834, bringing litigation, accusation and counter-accusation in its train.<sup>9</sup>

Some five years after these events Ellicott published a pamphlet in which he purported to reproduce certain letters exchanged between him and Taney during the fall of 1833. They appeared to show that Taney had been well aware that the Bank of Maryland was in jeopardy, and indeed had issued the transfer drafts to Ellicott for the specific purpose of supporting that institution. Charging that the pamphlet falsified the correspondence, Taney was yet unwilling to demean his "high judicial status" by engaging in public controversy. But he was jealous of his good name in the eyes of posterity. Because he feared a renewal of Ellicott's attack when he could "no longer confront him" Taney drew up the following narrative. He wrote that he intended to leave it "in the hands of my family, that they may be able to do justice to my character, in case it should be assailed by Mr. Ellicott after my death." The document is from the Perine Papers in the Maryland Historical Society, a collection which contains a number of letters to and from David M. Perine, a highly-regarded nineteenth-century Register of Wills for Baltimore County. Perine and Taney were close friends.<sup>10</sup> It is because of this fact that Taney may have changed his original intent with respect to his manuscript and left it in the hands of Perine.

While I held the office of Secretary of the Treasury in 1833 and 1834, many private and confidential letters passed between Thomas Ellicott formerly President of the Union Bank of Maryland and myself. Mr. Ellicott has recently published a pamphlet<sup>11</sup> in relation to the affairs of the Bank of Maryland which failed in March 1834; and in this pamphlet among other letters from me, he gives one dated October 11, 1833, which he says was an answer to a letter from him of the 8th of the same month.

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to such modern accounts of the Bank War as Redlich's, I have substituted the name of Biddle for "U. S. Bank."

<sup>9</sup> A. C. Bryan, *History of State Banking in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1899), pp. 91-93.

<sup>10</sup> Charles Howard to D. M. Perine, Baltimore, Oct. 14, 1864 in *Oliver Papers*, MdHS. In reference to Taney's funeral Howard wrote: "The Family of Taney gave me the names of some 3 or 4 old and warmly attached friends, whom they wish to have an opportunity to accompany the remains.—Your's of course was prominent among [them]." After the death of the Chief Justice, Perine and J. M. Campbell took charge of Taney's estate (Swisher, *op. cit.*, p. 379).

<sup>11</sup> Thomas C. Ellicott, *Bank of Maryland Conspiracy, as Developed in the Report to the Creditors by Thomas Ellicott Trustee of said Bank* (Philadelphia, 1839). A copy of this pamphlet is in the Peabody Institute Library of Baltimore.



This Statement of Mr. Ellicott is not true. His letter of the 8th was answered by me in one of the 10th which Mr. Ellicott has suppressed; and of which I have a copy. My letter of the 11th was an answer to one from him of the 10th. It is not in my power to say positively whether my letter of the 11th is truly given in the pamphlet; for although I kept a copy of it at the time, it has unfortunately been mislaid. My impression is that the letter is not fully given, and that some parts of it have been omitted. In his however I may be mistaken, and after the lapse of so many years, my memory may not be entirely accurate. But I can have no confidence in the correctness of any copy given by Mr. Ellicott, when I find him capable of resorting to the disingenuous artifice of suppressing my letter to him of the 10th & representing my letter of the 11th as the answer to his of the 8th.

The object of this misrepresentation is obvious enough. It is intended to impeach my veracity, & to shew that the statement made by me in my letter to Mr. Johnson<sup>12</sup> of July 25, 1834, was not true. In that letter I said that when Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine<sup>13</sup> visited Washington in October 1833, neither of them suggested that the Bank of Maryland<sup>14</sup> needed or desired a loan; that they did not ask for my aid to support it; and that from the conversation they held with me "I supposed that the Bank of Maryland so far from requiring any aid for itself was in a condition to support other institutions if it should become necessary to do so."<sup>15</sup> This letter is published in Mr. Ellicott's pamphlet, and if my letter of the 11th is truly given, and if it had been as he represents it the answer to his of the 8th it would appear to contradict the statement in my letter to Mr. Johnson, and to shew that he and Mr. Perine must have informed me of the embarrassment of the Bank of Maryland and of its speculations in stock. Mr. Ellicott it is true does not in direct terms charge upon me this contradiction; but it is insinuated too plainly to escape the attention of the most careless reader; and the letter of the 11th is *underscored* and

<sup>12</sup> Reverdy Johnson (1796-1876). Lawyer and diplomat, Johnson occupied a number of important public posts. Elected to the state senate from Baltimore in 1821 and again in 1826, he rose to the U. S. Senate in 1845. He became Attorney-General under President Taylor in 1849, and was appointed Minister to Great Britain in 1868. The Taney manuscript later makes clear that Johnson was counsel for the Union Bank of Maryland in the fall of 1833.

<sup>13</sup> David Maulden Perine (1796-1882). Perine was Register of Wills for Baltimore County from 1825 to 1851. A man of unusually high ethical standards, his services as an administrator of estates were utilized in connection with the estates of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Robert Oliver, and George Brown. The Taney manuscript identifies him as a Director of the Union Bank of Maryland in the fall of 1833.

<sup>14</sup> The Bank of Maryland (Evan Poultney, President) should be carefully distinguished from the Union Bank of Maryland (Thomas Ellicott, President).

<sup>15</sup> A copy of this letter is reproduced on pp. 41-42 of "Correspondence relating to Affairs of the Bank of Maryland," printed with [Reverdy Johnson's] "Reply to a Pamphlet [by Evan Poultney] entitled 'A Brief Exposition of Matters Relating to the Bank of Maryland' with an Examination into some of the Causes of the Bankruptcy of that Institution" (Baltimore, 1834).

commented on for the purpose of attracting particular attention to those parts of it which relate to the Bank of Maryland and to stock speculations, in order to shew that I must have derived my information on those subjects from Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine. If my information upon these subjects had been derived from them, it would be very clear that the statement abovementioned in my letter to Mr. Johnson would be incorrect—and I should be justly subject to the imputation of having wilfully departed from the truth; for the most charitable would hardly be able to persuade themselves that in a matter of so much importance, there could be any mistake in memory when only a few months had elapsed after the conversation referred to.

My correspondence with Mr. Ellicott when fairly given will be found to agree entirely with my statement in the letter to Mr. Johnson; and will prove beyond question its truth. For my letter of the 10th which was in reply to his of the 8th will shew that when I gave the drafts in favour of the Union Bank, which Mr. Johnson & Mr. Perine, carried to Mr. Ellicott, I had no suspicion that the Bank of Maryland was in difficulties—and had no knowledge whatever of its stock speculations; It will also shew that Mr. Ellicott after having transferred these two drafts to the Bank of Maryland, came to Washington to see me on the evening of the day on which he made the transfer; and that he himself in that interview first informed me of the speculations & embarrassments of the Bank of Maryland. The difficulties of that Bank were stated & urged by him as his justification, for having used these drafts.

Before I left the Treasury Department I was satisfied that Mr. Ellicott was unworthy of the confidence I had reposed in him; and at the election of Directors of the Union Bank of Maryland which took place in July 1834, I united with the majority of the stockholders in electing a Board of Directors opposed to his reelection as President of the Bank. I have been always since fully sensible of the deep resentment which Mr. Ellicott has borne towards me; and that he imputed the loss of his election mainly to the part taken by me. My long intimacy with him was well known, & also the firm and active support which I had given him on former occasions when strong efforts had been made to remove him from his office; and the vote which I gave at this election, shewed that with the best opportunities of knowing him, he had lost my confidence, and the confidence of the Department over which I had presided. Feeling as he did most deeply his defeat, I should not have been surprised if in the excitement of the moment he had published my confidential letters. Such conduct indeed, on his part would have been sufficiently dishonorable; but I had seen enough to satisfy me that I had greatly mistaken his character, and that I had committed a gross error in supposing him worthy of my friendship. There was nothing I knew in my private letters that could tarnish my honor. Yet in times of high excitement, many things are said in confidential correspondence, which one is unwilling to see given to the public, especially while the public mind is still heated and agitated on the same subjects, & while political enemies and rivals are prepared to

seize upon & distort to the injury of an opponent, every loose and careless expression written in a moment of excitement or anxiety & forgotten perhaps in an hour afterwards. There are expressions I doubt not in my private letters to Mr. Ellicott which it would not be pleasant for me to see in print; and for some time after his defeat in the Union Bank I thought it very likely that he would throw my confidential letters before the public, merely because he supposed it would give me pain.

But he did not publish at that time, although he often as I heard threatened to do so—and these threats were always made so as to give them the best chance of reaching me. And as five years had gone by, without a publication I took for granted that as no money was now to be got by it the scheme was abandoned. But I find I have been again mistaken in his character; and that he is capable of deeper and more enduring feelings of revenge, than I had supposed belonged to him, and is utterly unscrupulous in the means to be employed. After five years of reflection, he has endeavored to impeach my veracity & has wilfully & deliberately falsified my private correspondence with him in order to effect his object. It is manifest that he has ventured upon this misrepresentation under the belief that I have no copy of my letter of the 10th and that I have not preserved his letters to me. The mature deliberation with which this fraud has been perpetrated, & the hardihood which could venture upon it while any hand writing may be successfully imitated & Mr. Ellicott knows where survive me his bad feelings & principles would lead him to rejoice in the opportunity of defaming my memory without the danger of detection; and that other parts of my correspondence would be mutilated, and letters fabricated to accomplish his object. In this age of improved penmanship any hand writing may be successfully imitated & Mr. Ellicott knows where to seek for such aid. I cannot think of entering upon a controversy with him in the news-papers, in my life time—for it would be most unbecoming in one filling the high judicial station which I have the honor to hold. But I am unwilling to leave my character in the power of such a man, and his recent publication shews how easy it is to give a plausible appearance to falsehood, by mixing up some portion of truth with it. My correspondence with Mr. Ellicott extended through a period of several months;—my letters were often written under the influence of high excitement or in moments of painful anxiety—and always in haste and under the pressure of many engagements & in the carelessness of entire confidence; and I have now reason to apprehend that in every material part of that correspondence, the same fraudulent practices may be resorted to, which have been so freely & boldly used in the pamphlet. I must therefore endeavor to guard myself against the plans which this evil spirit may even now be concocting, and may bring forward when I can no longer confront him. And I propose to draw up a general view of the correspondence between him and myself connecting it with the conversations which occasionally took place between us, & to which his letters as well as mine often allude. This narrative I shall leave in the hands of my family, that they may be able to do justice to my character, in case it should be assailed by Mr. Ellicott after my death.

I must however preface this narrative by a brief statement, in order to shew what gave rise to this confidential correspondence between us, and why I am able to give copies of but few of my own letters.

When I received the appointment of attorney General of the United States I was residing in Baltimore, and had been living there eight years, actively engaged in the practice of the Law. During all that time I was the retained counsel for the Union Bank of Maryland of which Mr. Ellicott was President. He had been brought in in 1819 by the stockholders upon the discovery of the frauds perpetrated in that Bank. His administration of its affairs was generally understood when I became a resident of Baltimore to have been upright and vigorous. One fourth of its capital had been lost by the defalcations & misconduct of its former officers. Yet under his management its credit had been re-established & he was still actively engaged in endeavouring to recover large sums of money in property withdrawn from the Bank. I met him therefore with impressions strongly in his favour. My situation as counsel for the Institution brought us together, & his conduct & conversations won my entire confidence and respect. He appeared in all of my intercourse with him to be an honest man; faithful and conscientious in the discharge of his duties; a man of much talent, and possessing extensive information upon the subject of banking both in its principles & details. There were indeed many others who had known him longer than I had, who entertained a very different opinion of him; and some of them who were my personal friends warned me to be on my guard, & represented him as a hollow, deceitful & selfish man whose moral principles were not sound. But I thought they were mistaken & told them so. He was I knew sometimes harsh & rough in his manner, & the rigor with which he pressed the collection of the claims of the Union Bank had necessarily produced unpleasant collisions with securities and indorsers as well as debtors; and I imputed the opinions of the friends who spoke to me to statements made in moments of excitement by persons whom he had offended by his manner; or towards whom in his zeal for the interest of the Bank he might in some instances have appeared to act with hars[h]ness. During my residence in Baltimore and before I was appointed Atty-Genl. of the U. S. an effort was made to remove him from his office—headed by some gentlemen of the highest respectability, and who by the bye were among my intimate friends. The struggle was a severe one & upon that occasion I actively and earnestly supported his re election & perhaps as much as any other person contributed to maintain him in his place. Such was my confidence in him that I invested the savings from my profession altogether in that Bank—and advised my near family connections to do the same. And when in July 1831 I accepted the office of Attorney General of the U. States & went to reside in Washington I did not leave behind me any one in whose frankness, integrity & personal friendship I placed more confidence—nor any one in whose skill & information in the business of Banking I placed so much; nor any one more warm in professions of friendship & gratitude for services rendered in his difficulties.

We had often conversed about the Bank of the U. States—its oppressive measures & its dangerous power. He as well as myself was decidedly opposed to the renewal of its charter—and he often apprised me that by a proper selection of State Banks arrangements could be made between them by which all the benefits and conveniences which the government or the community desired from a U. States Bank could be realized;—

It is well known that I as one of General Jacksons Cabinet advised the removal of the deposits;—and while that question was pending I often, with the Presidents permission, conferred with Mr. Ellicott as to the most advisable arrangement to be instituted in the place of a national Bank. I do not now propose to enter upon the justification of that measure. This narrative is not prepared for that purpose. Its only object is to guard against a fraudulent misrepresentation of my correspondence with Mr. Ellicott—It is unnecessary therefore to state the various topics which were discussed at these interviews & the opinions expressed by him or myself. But it may not however be out of place to say, that looking to the time when that subject was under consideration, & testing the wisdom of the removal of the Deposites, by what has since followed, I see nothing in my conduct or opinions that I would now wish had been otherwise; except only the undoubting confidence which I reposed in Mr. Ellicott, & the high estimation in which I held him. Of this I acknowledge I am not a little ashamed; for I had excellent opportunities of observing him and as my professional pursuits had naturally lead me to the study of *man*, I did not suppose it possible that I could have been imposed upon with so many favourable opportunities of becoming well acquainted with his character; Indeed I had such confidence in my judgment, that although suspicions were occasionally excited by his conduct after I became Secretary of the Treasury, yet they were always soon dismissed & I relapsed again into my accustomed confidence, until I could no longer shut my eyes to the fact that he was utterly regardless of any principle of honor or morality. I yet think he could not have been such as he now is when I removed from Baltimore in 1831—and that he did not suddenly become such afterwards. But he engaged in veiled and extravagant speculations, which ruined his own fortunes and for a time endangered the safety of the Union Bank over which he presided. This was his position when I removed the deposits, although I had not the slightest suspicion of it; and his first act of bad faith towards me was the concealment of the condition of the Union Bank & of the Bank of Maryland when the deposits were removed.

The last mentioned Bank was at that time tottering to its very foundations; & Mr. Ellicott knew it, and was struggling to sustain it. I have no doubt he hoped to extricate himself from these difficulties by my aid as Secretary of the Treasury; & it is possible that he may in the first instance have supposed that it could be accomplished without any violation of duty on my part, & without any loss to the public. He may have believed that he would be able by reason of my confidence in him to influence the measures of the Department so as to place the funds he wanted in his hands, without acquainting me with his difficulties, or permitting me to



know the uses to which he meant to apply the public money. He was disappointed in his plans. His difficulties thickened about him. His mind became greatly excited and agitated; and he was willing to disgrace and ruin me in order to save himself.

He failed to accomplish his object, and became the victim of his own schemes, and is now verifying the well known principle—that a man never forgives one whom he has deliberately endeavoured to injure. But I cannot believe that he was equally ready to do evil when I was intimate with him.

Be this however as it may, nothing had happened to shake my confidence in him when I unexpectedly & I may say most unwillingly, found myself about to enter upon the duties of Secretary of the Treasury. The removal of the deposits had then been determined on by the President, with whom I entirely concurred; and as a member of his cabinet I had advised the plan which he finally decided to adopt. But I had never supposed that it would become my duty to carry this plan into execution, and there were many matters of detail essential to the success of the measure upon which I had bestowed but little consideration. I had regarded them as more properly belonging to the Treasury Department than to the Cabinet. But having advised the measure when I supposed its responsibility and hazards were to be encountered by another, it would have been dishonorable in me to shrink from the post of Danger, when the President requested me to occupy it—and when it was evident that the plan must fail, and the Bank triumph in its corruptions unless some one who concurred with the President in opinion, & possessed his entire confidence & was aware of all the difficulties in which the subject was involved, would immediately take charge of the Department. Although I could not hesitate as to the matter of duty, yet I was aware that many arrangements were to be made which required careful and deliberate consideration before I took the final step; and I wished to consult with practical Bankers in order to arrange with them the manner of executing the more minute & Detailed portions of the new plan of Deposite; and also the measures of defence which might be rendered necessary by the hostility of the Bank of the U. States. Having unlimited confidence in Mr. Ellicott, I addressed a note to him requesting him to come to Washington—I kept no copy of this letter, but according to my recollection it was a short one & merely stated that I wished to see him—From the manner in which that wish was expressed & from our previous conferences in relation to the removal of the Deposites I had not doubt at the time that he would readily understand upon what subject I wished to converse with him.

He came to Washington accordingly and I had an interview of some hours with him & other gentlemen in whom I confided, in which the whole plan was fully and anxiously considered. None of those who were present supposed there would be any difficulty except from the hostility of the Bank of the U. States. But the Bankers all agreed that if the different offices of the Bank of U. States, refused to receive the notes of other branches in exchange with the Deposite Banks, it would be impossible for any State



Bank to undertake the fiscal agency, without having a more efficient support from the Department than the mere receipt of the accruing revenue. The correctness of this opinion was evident enough. The notes of the Bank of the United States were made payable at different Branches—and being receivable by the Government every where in payment of the public dues, the Bank in order to engross as much of the circulation as possible, so contrived its issues, that very few of its notes were ever found circulating in the neighbourhood of the Branch at which they were made payable. The notes circulating in Baltimore, Philadelphia, New-York or Boston for example were generally payable at some remote Branch; such as Fayetteville in North Carolina or Nashville in Tennessee, where it would be most inconvenient to send for specie. As the Mother Bank & its offices in the commercial cities refused to receive them in settlements with the State Banks, the latter were compelled to refuse them also, except in limited [sic] amounts; that is to say they took as much as they supposed would be taken by their customers to pay revenue bonds. The result of this was that notes of these remote Branches were almost always in considerable amounts in the hands of brokers for sale at a small discount, & were purchased by the merchants to pay their Duty bonds; and as the merchants were by this means enabled to pay their debts to the government in a depreciated currency, they were of course very well satisfied with it, and supported the Bank in this kind of circulation. The Mother Bank at Philadelphia carried out this scheme of keeping afloat a depreciated currency even in very small affairs. For on the only occasion on which I was ever in the Banking house, they refused to give me their own notes or notes of the Philadelphia Banks for an hundred dollar note of one of their Branches, which I wished to exchange for smaller notes in order to settle some trifling bills in Philadelphia where I had been detained some weeks by sickness; and I was recommended by the Teller of the Bank to go to a Broker whom he named, and who charged me one dollar discount, giving me ninety nine dollars for my hundred dollar note. I mention this to shew how even in such a small concern the Bank was careful to depreciate the notes of its Branches. It succeeded to a great extent and the Chief part of the government dues were always paid in this depreciated currency.

It was manifest that a very large portion of the receipts of the Deposit Banks, for duty bonds would be made in this paper—and it was equally obvious that if the Bank of the U. States, refused it in the weekly settlements which took place with the State Banks; & Demanded Specie for their balances, no Bank would be safe which undertook the agency for the public unless the government had the means of supporting them, until the specie could be collected for these notes. And indeed if they were obliged to send to the Distant Branches for specie for all the notes of this description which should come to their hands, the fiscal agency would probably be of very little value to them. This seemed to be the principal difficulty anticipated by the Banks, & they wished to know how it could be obviated.

In reply to this I answered that the government had on deposit in the Bank of the U. States upwards of five millions of Dollars. That it was intended that this sum should be drawn out gradually as it was needed for the public service; but that if the Bank or its Branches refused to receive the notes of other offices in the weekly settlements with the Deposit Banks; or if it suddenly Demanded the balances which it had been accustomed to leave in the hands of the State Banks, I would immediately give transfer drafts on the Bank for the amount of the Branch notes which they might refuse to receive, and for the balances which they might oppressively draw; & that I was satisfied that the Bank with the heavy deposit of public money it had in its hands, liable to be immediately demanded, & which it was by no means convenient for it to pay without some further proposition it would hardly refuse its branch notes when it understood that the same amount would be drawn from it in specie. The Bankers who were present, supposed that this arrangement would enable them to withstand the hostility of the Bank of U. States, and willingly accepted the deposits on these terms.

It is proper to state that Mr. Ellicott did not entirely approve of the plan I determined on. And some points earnestly proposed by him must be here stated as they serve to explain his earlier letters & contribute also to shew the secret motives by which he was influenced. Subsequent events have abundantly proved, that the public good, & patriotic principles which were always on his lips, had but little to do with the projects he so perseveringly urged at this interview. They were as follows,

1. That each of the selected Banks, should be required immediately to pledge to the government, the Stock of some one of the States—or other stock in which the Department would have confidence—sufficient in amount to secure all the public money which might be Deposited with them, & that no other kind of Security should be accepted. He Stated that the Union Bank of Maryland was ready to give the proposed security either in bonds of the State of Tennessee, or in bonds of the Baltimore and Ohio rail road Company at the option of the Department.
2. That the whole sum then on deposit in the Bank of the U. States should be immediately withdrawn—and divided equally among the deposit Banks selected in the principal commercial cities.

It is not necessary for the purposes of this narrative to state the reasons urged by Mr. Ellicott in favor of these propositions—After hearing all that he desired to say on the subject, I did not agree with him & refused to adopt his plan,—and drew up the agreement since published with my official reports to Congress, which was executed by the several selected Banks before they entered upon their duties as public agents.

As I was a stockholder to a small amount in the Union Bank of Maryland, I did not make the selection of the Deposit Bank in Baltimore. I should have made the selection without hesitation, and should have appointed the Union Bank, without supposing for a moment that even

my worst enemies would have suspected me of any unworthy motive in making the selection, but for the unlooked for opposition of some of my warm personal and political friends in the city of Baltimore. They wrote to me in very earnest & strong terms against the selection of that Bank; expressed their want of confidence in Mr. Ellicott, & urged the appointment of the Bank of Baltimore. Two of them came to Washington and after remonstrating against the appointment of the Union Bank, & finding they made no impression upon me, they went to the President. I was not a little hurt by this proceeding, because it seemed to imply a want of confidence in me, & I believed their Suspicions of Mr. Ellicott to be entirely groundless. But as they had made such a serious matter of it, and had asked the interposition of the President, although I was quite sure that these gentlemen themselves had not the slightest suspicion of the integrity of my motives, I was at the same time equally satisfied that if in the face of such opposition, I selected the Union Bank and refused even to associate the Bank of Baltimore with it, my political opponents would endeavour to make a handle of it; and would represent my decision as governed by my personal interests. I therefore determined to request the President to decide whether one or two Banks should be selected in Baltimore; and if in his judgment only one ought to be employed, then to name the Bank which he deemed it most advisable to appoint. I accordingly brought the subject before him, stated the difficulty of my position; represented honestly and fairly the relative advantages of the two Banks—and frankly Stated to him my opinions, and the opposing opinions of the friends who had written to me, as well as of those who had visited Washington. He took until the next day to consider it, and then recommended the appointment of the Union Bank alone. The selection made by the President was certainly a very gratifying one to me. For I wished to have near me a practical Banker, familiar with the usual course of proceedings in Banks, and with the State of the money market, and how would be able generally to inform me of the condition of the Banks & of the merchants in the principal commercial cities; & who would moreover from a conviction that the measure was right be disposed to give it a cordial & willing support. Such I believed Mr. Ellicott to be, at the time I am speaking of; & his Bank was among the first selected, & entered upon its duties as fiscal agent on the day the deposits were withdrawn from the Bank of the U. States.

I am aware that a private correspondence by the head of the Treasury Department with one of his subordinate agents, concerning the official business & duties of the agent, is highly indiscreet; and would justly lead to suspicions injurious to the character of the Secretary unless the reasons for it were apparent, & such as to justify this Secret communication. In general no Secretary ought to answer any communication from his subordinate agent, except in an official form, when the letter relates to the public business in charge of the agent. For in the ordinary course of business nothing ought to pass between them which the public may not immediately know. But my situation in the Treasury Department was a

peculiar one—and not only justified the active private correspondence in which I was engaged, but forced it upon me as a public duty. The Bank of the U. States was openly engaged in endeavouring to produce a scene of bankruptcy and distress throughout the Union; it had by its money obtained the control of many of the leading news-papers; under the direction of the Bank they were seeking to destroy confidence in the State Banks; to create a panic; to produce a run upon them for Specie & compel them to Stop payment, & thereby throw the country into confusion, & deprive the government of the money which it had deposited in them. The leaders of the party who called themselves *W'higs*, numbering in their ranks nearly one half of the people of the U. States, and a decided majority of the Senate were openly & actively cooperating with the Bank, and day by day endeavouring by inflam[m]atory speeches & resolutions to increase the excitement and alarm. Every difficulty in a Bank, and every individual failure was eagerly seized upon & exaggerated and commented on in the news-papers & the Senate; and every invention and fabrication which appeared in the news-papers of the Bank was repeated in speeches in the Senate, and assumed to be true. When therefore any difficulty was experienced by one of the deposite Banks, or any apprehension felt for the safety of the State Banks by the Department, it would have been the extreme of folly to expose it in my official correspondence; for any uneasiness on my part would have been instantly transmitted through the country, and the danger magnified, in speeches & news-paper paragraphs without number. My duty to the public required that I should if possible preserve the country from the general distress & ruin which must have been occasioned by the Stoppage of the Banks; and indeed it was highly probable in the then excited state of the public mind, that if the Banks had stopped payment, a convulsion would have followed and our political institutions have been placed in Jeopardy. The wheels of government would have been stopped by the stoppage of the Banks, as the whole public revenue was deposited with them. Any unnecessary disclosure therefore on my part of existing difficulties or apprehended dangers, which would have aided the designs of those who were struggling to produce this disastrous result, would have been a breach of my duty to the public; and would have been hardly more excusable than information given to the enemy in time of war. It was indeed a war waged upon the people of the U. States; for no hostile nation ever strove more earnestly to distress another. The weapons to be sure were different but the end was the same.

The excitement is now past and every one must see that the panic and alarm then created was utterly groundless, & that it was contrived and got up deliberately by great exertions & a vast expenditure of money, for the purpose of bringing distress upon the country, & thereby to influence the elections. Yet strange as it may seem the principal actors in these scenes of ruin have lost none of their popularity with their party. Such is the madness of party strife. It is not however my purpose at this time to review the conduct of those who took a leading part in this memorable conflict. My only object in referring to it is to shew why I

carried on a private correspondence with those who were the fiscal agents of the government, upon subjects connected with their public duties. I gave to the adversary whatever information my duty as an officer, or my duty as man of honor, required me to give;—but I gave them nothing more; and hence the private and confidential correspondence on certain occasions between Mr. Ellicott & myself.

I have copies of but few of my private letters to Mr. Ellicott. It has never been my practice to retain copies of my letters, nor to preserve letters received from others; and having gone late in life into official employment, I carried with me the habits I had before formed; and frequently threw into the fire the private and confidential letters I received as soon as I read them, & believe that I have now scarcely a single private communication that was addressed to me when I was attorney Genl. of the U. States. They were always destroyed either as soon as they were received, or at all events, as soon as the business was transacted to which they related. When I became Secretary of the Treasury, private & confidential letters multiplied upon me, & scarcely a day passed without them. They grew out of the excitement of the time, & the position in which I was placed. It was my practice after a cursory perusal of them in my public office where my letters by the mail were always received and where I was every moment interrupted by persons who were calling either on business, or as friends, to lock my private letters & the public papers which I wished to examine with more deliberation in a small trunk, & as soon as the usual hours of official business at the Department were over, one of the Messengers took the trunk to my private office at my own house, where after night I most generally wrote the answers to such letters I supposed it proper to answer—The great press of business upon me often put it out of my power to reply on the same evening that I received them and it often required some enquiry to enable me to answer; & sometimes a little reflection to determine whether it was proper to answer at all; and as I worked very late, I was generally too much fatigued at the close of my labours to make a selection, of those which it was necessary to preserve for future attention & reply—All of the private letters therefore, except those which were thrown into the fire as soon as they were read, were left upon the table and the public papers together with such letters as I had written were placed in the trunk & carried to the public office by the messenger the next morning. In this way my table became literally piled with private letters to me which in due time began to fall upon the floor & occupied a corner of the room. Many of them were no doubt destroyed by the carelessness of servants, & many were thrown into the fire as soon as they were read, & some of Mr. Ellicott's undoubtedly shared this fate; for I find there must have been some letters from him, which are not now among my papers;—Many more of them would have been destroyed when I left Washington, had not Mr. Ellicott in a conversation with Mr. Young intimated that he might probably publish my private letters. This happened a few weeks before I left the Department. Mr. Young was my chief clerk & a man of the highest honor, & I had sent



him to Baltimore to endeavour to obtain security from the Union Bank for a large sum of money which the Bank of the Metropolis, had suffered to remain there on Deposit at my request;—Instead of giving the security, he demanded more money, & in one of his conversations with Mr. Young took occasion to open a drawer containing my letters, in order that Mr. Young might see them, & then in dark and ambiguous phrases gave Mr. Young to understand, that he might deem it necessary to publish them. Mr. Young immediately informed me of this conversation—It became necessary therefore to look up all of his letters to me, that our correspondence might not be garbled and misrepresented; At first I employed my daughters in arranging & endorsing them for me, but they were much in society & not accustomed to such business, & I feared mistakes might be committed; I therefore sent one of my clerks to my private office and directed him to search among the mass of papers for all the letters from Mr. Ellicott, & to indorse them and arrange them according to dates—By this means I have saved enough to defend myself from his misrepresentations. Fortunately also I retained a copy of one of the most important & was induced to do so contrary to my general habit by the following circumstances.

It will appear from the correspondence I am about to give, that a very few days after the deposits were removed I became much dissatisfied with the conduct of Mr. Ellicott; and in this state of feeling, notwithstanding the confidence I had so long been accustomed to repose in him, the warnings of friends, and all that they had said—of his duplicity & selfishness came back to my mind and rendered me for a time very uneasy and induced me to think it advisable to retain copies of my letters to him. I accordingly kept a copy of one which I wrote to him on the 10 of October 1833, and of another of the 11th. of this same month. But he had the address in a very little time to remove these unpleasant feelings, & I relapsed into my old habit of confidence; and so carelessly were these two copies afterwards kept that one of them has been lost. In the spring of 1834 however I had but too many proofs of his treachery & want of moral principle; and I have copies of several letters written to him at that time. Yet even then I hesitated longer than I ought to have done as to his true character & endeavoured to find excuses for him in the excitement & difficulties of the times which appeared to have clouded his judgment; and until the proofs became too strong to be resisted I was disposed to put the best interpretation upon his actions—and had not entirely given him up even when I was keeping copies of his letters.

Indeed such was my confidence in him that after I had determined on the plan to be adopted in the removal of the deposits and the agreement which I should require from the selected Banks, I sought a private interview, and said to him, "Mr. Ellicott the arrangements are now all made, & you see my plan. Its success depends upon the condition of the State Banks. If they have been prudently managed I have no fear of the hostility of the Bank of the U. States;—But you are aware that I can



have no personal knowledge of this fact, and that I rely mainly upon your opinion because your position has given you the best opportunities of information. Have they been prudently managed and are they now in safe condition? I conjure you to answer me frankly for I feel the great responsibility of the measure I am about to undertake; & it is not yet too late to stop, if there is any reasonable doubt of its success." He answered, "I cannot undertake to speak of the Banks out of the City of Baltimore; but as far as I can judge I believe they are in a good situation—for I know nothing to the contrary. But as to the Banks of Baltimore I am confident that they are sound and prudently managed. You need have no fears of any of them."

I had not at this time the slightest suspicion of the safety of the Bank of Maryland. While I resided in Baltimore Mr. Ellicott frequently spoke to me of Mr. Poultney in terms of high praise. He was his family connexion, and very intimate with him & Mr. Ellicott appeared to take a deep interest in his welfare. He represented him as a man skilful discreet & enterprising in the business of banking and very successful in it. Mr. Poultney was at the head of the Susquehanna Bridge and Bank company some years before I removed to Washington. About the time I left Baltimore he became the President of the Bank of Maryland. As I continued while I was Attorney General of the U. States to practice in the State Courts, I spent much of my time in Baltimore; and being still counsel for the Union Bank, Mr. Ellicott & myself often met, and kept up our intimate and friendly relations. In the interviews I had with him our conversations were not confined to matters of business, and he often upon these occasions spoke of Mr. Poultneys skilful management of the Bank of Maryland and of the high price to which its stock had risen, notwithstanding the hostility manifested towards him by the Branch of the U. States Bank at Baltimore. He represented this Branch as acting oppressively towards the Bank of Maryland, and endeavouring to discredit it by refusing to receive its notes or to keep an account with it; He complained that this conduct of the Branch embarrassed the Bank of Maryland;—that the mother Bank and the other Branches received its notes and sent them to the Branch here for collection; and by that means enabled it to make sudden and heavy demands for specie, which must be met without a moments delay; and that a great Bank like that of the U. States, with its numerous Branches acting in that manner, towards a single Bank with small capital, might crush it, at some unlucky moment however skilfully & prudently it was managed. He represented the leading members of the Branch Board, as offended because Mr. Morris <sup>16</sup> had been removed by the stockholders & Mr. Poultney elected in his place, and he imputed their conduct to feelings of resentment on account of this change in the President.

<sup>16</sup> John B. Morris (1785-1874). A member of the state senate, 1832-1835, Morris was also prominent in banking circles. He was president of the Mechanics Bank of Baltimore for more than 30 years.

In all of these conversations, he talked as if the Stock of the Bank of Maryland, like that of the other Banks in Baltimore, was divided among many Stock-holders and left me under the impression that the price at which it was quoted in the news-papers, was the market price for which it was bought and sold like the stocks of other Banks; and I had not the slightest suspicion that Mr. Poultney had become in reality the sole owner of the Bank, and that the price of the Stock as stated in the news-papers was nothing more than the value he chose to affix to it. And I was perfectly astonished when I learned from the publications which grew out of the failure of that Bank that the removal of Mr. Morris, which was said to have produced such serious consequences was a mere fiction; and that he refused to act as the President when he found that Mr. Poultney was in effect the owner of the Bank & had the entire control of it. The story of the hostility of the Branch was equally unfounded. The refusal to receive the notes or to keep an account with it, was the act of the cashier Mr. John White, a gentleman of the highest integrity, and of great knowledge & excellent judgment in the Monetary affairs of the country. He regarded the Bank of Maryland as a private Bank, when Mr. Poultney obtained the entire control if it, and was satisfied from the manner in which he was carrying on his operations, that sooner or later the Bank must break; and that it was his duty therefore not to hazard the interests of the institution of which he was an officer, by taking its notes or keeping an account with it; because if he did so, he might in spite of every prudence and care on his part find his Bank a heavy loser when the explosion took place. The directors of the Branch would have been well satisfied if he had taken a different course; but they would not order him to change it. The representations however of which I have spoken were not made to me only; for there was a general impression in the city, that the Branch was acting harshly towards the Bank of Maryland, and a good deal of sympathy was felt for the latter as the weaker and the injured party and the Bank of Maryland became decidedly a popular Bank among the people of Baltimore & Mr. Poultney a very popular President. I may be excused for having given confidence to the statements of Mr. Ellicott upon this subject, because I often heard it said by others as well as by him, that the Branch was acting imperiously & oppressively towards this Bank; and it so happened that I never conversed with Mr. White in relation to this matter until after the appearance of Mr. Ellicott's pamphlet. Five minutes talk with him, would have put me on my guard, by shewing the impositions he had practised upon me & would have prevented me from selecting the Union Bank as one of the depositories of the public revenue.

With these explanatory observations I proceed with the narrative of my private communications with Mr. Ellicott, after the removal of the Deposites and after his Bank had been selected as one of the Deposit Banks.

*(To be continued)*

## SIDELIGHTS

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### A FAMILY LETTER WITH VIEWS ON LINCOLN, 1862

The following letter was written by Dr. Harvey Colburn of Baltimore to his son, the Reverend Edward A. Colburn, Rector of Deer Creek Parish, Harford County.\* It reflects the division of loyalties within one family and gives contemporary reaction to the leadership of Abraham Lincoln as President of the United States.

Baltimore, January 16, 1862.

Dear Edward:—I intended writing to you before this, and commenced a letter which I destroyed, instead of finishing it.

I suppose that it is proper that I should congratulate you and Annie on the birth of a son, and I devoutly hope that he may be to you a source of great comfort. Born in the midst of rebellious times when so large a portion of the people of this great country "glory in their shame," and are ambitious to excel Benedict Arnold as traitors. I cannot feel the pleasure in thinking of him that I should have done two years ago; but I am highly gratified in knowing that Annie is doing well; and shall indulge the hope that both parents and child may be blessed with many years of happiness in this world, that the infant may become a true patriot, and a useful & prominent member of this great Republic.

I shall not trouble you with advice about a name for the child beyond saying, that if you should contemplate calling him Jeff., that you omit not to add Beelzebub.

We have not heard from Rollison since he left home (last Saturday).

Two teachers were advertised for by a Mr. Ramsay of Port Deposit, on the 2d., salary at the rate of \$300. per ann. Roll. wrote to Mr. R. and rec'd. an answer on the 7th. saying that he should have one of the schools, about one mile from the Port; that he could board at the Hotel in the Port, or, near to the school.

Roll was apprehensive that his youthful appearance would be objected to, and that he would be sent back; but as we have neither seen nor heard from him, I presume that he is at work.

I told him that should such objection be made, he must tell them that he was old enough, and was qualified for the duties, and come for no other purpose than to perform them.

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\* The original letter has been presented to the Maryland Historical Society by Mr. Layton Rogers Colburn, Delray Beach, Florida.

I was sorry to hear from your mother that you entertain so bad an opinion of Mr. Lincoln. You know very well that he was not my choice, and that I worked for the Union nominees; but think for one moment what a predicament we should be in if we had elected Mr. Bell.<sup>1</sup> The same difficulties would have occurred, & he could not have resisted them as is evident from his backing down so soon. The Breckenridge party denounced him as an abolitionist, (as the Democrats did Mr. Clay,) and the leaders were determined on secession no matter who was elected. They had been concocting the movement for ten years, and Jeff. Davis, as Secretary of War under Pearce [Pierce], commenced sending the largest quantities of arms & ammunition South. He was told that they were not needed there, and he said that he did not want to be interfered with. Floyd<sup>2</sup> followed, & when the rebellion broke out it was found that almost all of the arms, large & small, of any value, were in the seceded states.

When Mr. Lincoln came into office he found an empty Treasury, (robbed by Cobb<sup>3</sup> & Floyd,) a mere handful of men in the army, & no amount of arms or ammunition. Everything must be commenced anew, and no money to pay with. Commerce, & trade generally, gone, and no land sales. The revenue not sufficient to meet current expenses, much less to provide & equip an Army. The States sending the first troops into Washington had to furnish them, and no funds could be raised until Congress could meet and legislate, and when they did so, it was a matter of doubt whether a broken Treasury could obtain credit. Usually large sums can readily be obtained from Europe; but the London Times came down upon us at once, and advised that no money should be loaned to us, and we have been obliged to depend upon our own capitalists for the means to carry on the war. Had Mr. Lincoln been an abolitionist he could not have borrowed \$50,000,000. *He is not an abolitionist*, which can be easily proved by his speeches when "stumping" his State with Douglas, and Benjamin,<sup>4</sup> (the present Attorney General under Davis,) quoted from Mr. Lincoln's replies to Douglas to prove he was much the more conservative of the two. The abolitionists expect nothing from him. Gerrett Smith<sup>5</sup> says that, and assigns as a reason that Mr. Lincoln worships the Constitu-

<sup>1</sup> John Bell (1797-1869) was presidential candidate of the moderate Constitutional Union Party. He held his home state of Tennessee in the Union until after the firing on Fort Sumpter. He then counseled resistance to Union invasion.

<sup>2</sup> John Buchanan Floyd (1807-1863). U. S. Secretary of War (1857-1860). His resignation was requested by President Buchanan for irregular practices in the War Department, which involved a loss of \$870,000. The claim that he transferred large quantities of arms to Southern arsenals is now questioned, but his incompetency is generally acknowledged.

<sup>3</sup> Howell Cobb (1815-1868) was appointed Secretary of the Treasury in 1857. He resigned after Lincoln's election and took an active part in organizing the Confederacy.

<sup>4</sup> Judah P. Benjamin (1811-1884) later served as Secretary of War and Secretary of State in the Confederacy.

<sup>5</sup> Gerrit Smith (1797-1874), philanthropist and abolitionist, was a friend of John Brown. At the close of the war he urged moderation and in 1867 was one of the signers of the bail bond of Jefferson Davis.

tion. The ultra men of his own party are disappointed. He has thrown Fremont<sup>6</sup> & Phelps<sup>7</sup> overboard, and given Mr. Cameron permission to go to Russia.<sup>8</sup>

Mr. L. believes that Congress has the power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, provided the masters are paid the value of their slaves; but he does not hold that there is any right to abolish it in the States, and he considers a "Fugitive Slave Law" is not unconstitutional. He is opposed to extending it, (slavery,) into territory which is already free, and so was Mr. Clay.

Mr. Lincoln said some things on his way to Washington that I regretted; but every man has his weaknesses, his foibles, & his faults. Look at the circumstances under which he came into office, and if he were not possessed of much talent, & great decision of character, we should have been completely broken down months ago.

By the 1st. of March we shall probably find that the rebel army is nearly or quite broken up, and when that difficulty is settled I think that neither England nor France will be over anxious to pick a quarrel with us.

I was highly gratified with the exploit of Wilks;<sup>9</sup> but it is made manifest that the proceeding was irregular, and not in accordance with inter-national law. Mr. Seward's prompt note to our Minister in London stated that the transaction was without the knowledge of the Government, consequently their surrender was no *humiliation*. *Austria says that it would be no humiliation*. It was simply an act of justice that the men should be returned. The rebels are chop-fallen that they have lost their capital which they expected to make out of seizure.

I hope Mason & Slidell were not sent to Davy's Locker in that gale.

I have come to think upon Mr. Lincoln as a conservative man; a good old Whig, and of undoubted honesty, combined with excellent practical talents. He is somewhat singular; but faithful.

So much to endeavor to induce you to open your eyes wide enough to see the good points of our President—the President of the U. States.

We are all very well, if I except a slight sore throat in Frank, for which I have kept him at home two or three days.

<sup>6</sup> John Charles Fremont (1813-1890), famous explorer, was the Republican presidential candidate in 1856.

<sup>7</sup> Probably John Smith Phelps (1814-1886), who was appointed by Lincoln as military governor of Arkansas in July, 1862, but later resigned the position.

<sup>8</sup> Simon Cameron (1799-1889) was a candidate for the nomination of President at the Republican national convention, but supported Lincoln after the first ballot. Lincoln reluctantly appointed him Secretary of War, but the corruption in the War Department became so notorious, Lincoln eased Cameron out by appointing him Minister to Russia.

<sup>9</sup> Charles Wilkes (1798-1877), naval officer and explorer for whom Wilkes Land was named. As commander of the *San Jacinto* he stopped the British mail ship *Trent* and removed from it the Confederate commissioners John Slidell and James M. Mason on November 8, 1861. The Trent Affair almost involved the United States in a war with Great Britain, but Wilkes' action was disavowed and the prisoners released. The Confederacy had hoped for recognition by Great Britain from the incident.

Nothing new among us, unless the election of Dr. Hawkes<sup>10</sup> to Christ Church on a salary of \$3,500 is news to you. Such is the report, and it said that he thinks himself badly treated at Calvary, in N. Y. They did pay him \$7,000. It is not said that he either accepted or declined Christ Church.

Give my love to Annie & kiss the baby for us.

Kind regards to Mrs. Jackson. What could she rent her place for, with the stock?

Affectionately

H. Colburn.

P. S.—January. 17—Nat. & I have visited Annapolis today. Rev. Mr. Syle<sup>11</sup> was at your Aunt Mary's today. He has been elected to, and accepted, Trinity Church, Washington. He is a strong Union man, and told the Captain that he knew that this secession movement had been concocting for fifteen years between the South & England.

I spent an hour with Mr. Leary, M. C.,<sup>12</sup> this evening, & he says that Mr. Lincoln is one of the most conservative men in the country, and boasts of his old Whig principles.

18th. We have a letter from Roll. He is about two miles from Port Deposit, boarding with a family by the name of Guy, at \$2.50 per week, including washing & fire in his room. He commenced in school on Monday, has one boy larger than himself, and two girls as large. Letters to be directed to Deposit, care Mr. Jeff. Ramsay. We have also a letter from Harry. He is again out of employment. All well in Newark & Elizabeth.

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<sup>10</sup> Francis Lister Hawks (1798-1866), eminent Protestant Episcopal clergyman and historian, resigned his position at Calvary Church in New York in 1862 and became rector of Christ Church, Baltimore. He had strong Southern sympathies during the War.

<sup>11</sup> Reverend E. W. Syle.

<sup>12</sup> Cornelius Lawrence Ludlow Leary (1813-1893) was elected as a Unionist to the Thirty-seventh Congress (1861-1863).



## REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

*The South in the American Revolution, 1763-1789.* By JOHN RICHARD ALDEN. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press and the Littlefield Fund for Southern History of the University of Texas, 1957. Volume III of *A History of the South*, edited by WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON and E. MERTON COULTER. xv, 442 pp. \$7.50.

A full account of the South in the era of the Revolution has long been awaited, for of all the areas involved in that struggle the South has been most neglected. Whatever the reason—possibly preoccupation with the Lost Cause and its effects—the lack of a comprehensive study has been regrettable since the South yields to no area in importance during the period. Now at last that energetic scholar of the Revolution, John Richard Alden, has addressed himself to the problem. A graduate student at Michigan, formerly professor of history at Nebraska, and currently professor of history at Duke, Mr. Alden is no Southerner but understands both the section and the era. He has published valuable studies of General Gage, Charles Lee, and John Stuart. He has edited the two-volume work on the Revolution by the late Christopher Ward. Recently he authored *The American Revolution, 1775-1783*, in Harper's *Rise of the American Nation* series. He therefore brings a remarkable knowledge of the period to his study of the South, which, he admits, has always fascinated him.

Mr. Alden conceives of these years, 1763-1789, as a whole and concerns himself with the South of the Revolution, namely, the territory between the eastern mountains and the Mississippi, especially the seaboard colonies from Maryland to Georgia. He looks at four main subjects: the Southerners' part in the war itself, the rise of North-South controversy, reforms within the Southern colonies before the conflict, and the role of the South in the formation of the Federal Union. His program is ambitious, given the limitations of a single volume, but his results are impressive.

The role of the South in the conflict finds Mr. Alden at his happiest. He gives a concise but brilliant account of the military campaigns from the early American victories at Moore's Creek and Charleston through the dreadful days of invasion from 1779 on, with the check and counter check of Cornwallis and Greene, to the final victory at Yorktown. Most of this is traditional, of course, but Mr. Alden illuminates even lighted pathways with a still greater incandescence. Nor does he fail to consider either the neglected southwestern front, with the Spanish-American drive

against the British on the lower Mississippi and in West Florida, or Clark's lunge into the Illinois country claimed by Virginia. Throughout, he keeps in mind the South and Southerners, the one as a theater of conflict, the other in terms of contributions in the field, in state office, and in the halls of Congress.

But it would be less than just to think of Mr. Alden simply as the excellent military historian he is. He develops with great care the political tides of opinion reflecting public reaction to the economic policies of the Crown following the French and Indian War. From Maryland to Georgia he considers the problems faced by each colony and explains in his analysis why the South, although it had fewer economic grievances against the Crown than the Northern colonies, was fully as ardent as the New Englanders in defense of American rights.

Likewise Mr. Alden explores, perhaps too briefly, the controversy between North and South, which had its origins almost from the beginning but rose sharply during the war over cooperation and in the 1780's over slavery and representation. He also investigates, much more deftly, the controversy between the East and West within each colony, reflecting, as it did, the social rifts between the settled, cultured Low Country and the frontier elements of the Upland who lacked education and elegance—hot-headed, trigger-happy Scots, Scotch-Irish, Germans, and English who lived in peril from the Indians and often in defiance of sheriffs and governors.

In the years following the Revolution many factions in the South, particularly the conservatives, began to see advantages in strengthening the central American government. Mr. Alden analyzes with discernment the moves which culminated in the great convention of 1787, the convention itself, and the enormously important part played by the South both in the convention and in finally getting the Constitution adopted. The struggle within the Southern states over the Constitution is, strangely, given short shrift in space, but, in the few pages he devotes to the subject, Mr. Alden points out effectively the intensity of the struggle and the bitterness and rancor that often characterized the debates—an anti-Federalist in North Carolina, for example, condemning Washington as "a damned rascal and traitor" for signing the Constitution and a prominent Federalist denouncing the speaker and his party as "a set of fools and knaves." In the end, although a later generation of Southerners was to regret the decision to accept the new Union, the South of the 1780's, in Mr. Alden's words, "emerging as a section with interests opposed to those of a North, set aside fears of domination by that North, and freely joined in making it."

This book is one of the finest in that excellent *History of the South* series—it is scholarly, authoritative, and well-written. Its major shortcoming is that of the series itself, of any regional series however admirable in conception and design. The emphasis is upon but one section of the country, and notwithstanding the author's efforts to avoid parochialism, the larger view of continental developments is frequently subordinated to

a preoccupation with what happened in the South, thereby giving a somewhat distorted image. Fortunately Mr. Alden is too good a historian to permit any reader conclude that it was the South that dominated the period. Rather he endeavors to make clear that it was the combined labors and sacrifices of all sections of the country, however different their economic and social structures, that contributed to the successful conclusion of the war and laid the foundations of the new Union under the Federal Constitution.

WILLARD M. WALLACE

Wesleyan University

*The Frontier in Perspective*, Edited by WALKER D. WYMAN and CLIFTON B. KROEBER. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957. \$5.50.

The chronology of events leading up to the publication of *The Frontier in Perspective* reveals the course of one school of American historiography. In 1854 Lyman Copeland Draper, a pottering but indefatigable collector of frontier documents, began his career as secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Some forty years later, Frederick Jackson Turner, who had access to the Draper collection, proposed his frontier thesis before the American Historical Association. In 1954 the University of Wisconsin sponsored a series of lectures in Draper's memory under the title "Wisconsin Reconsiders the Frontier." These published lectures re-examine the Turner thesis in the light of new and extended knowledge of frontiers throughout the world. The volume is dedicated to the memory of Draper, but he is not mentioned in any of the essays, a circumstance that is indicative of the role that Draper, and perhaps, all antiquarians, play in the development of historiography.

Not only is the frontier theory of American history re-examined in this collection; seven of the thirteen essays deal with the application of the Turner theory to other frontiers. Just before closing his address on "The Significance of the Frontier in American History," Turner said: "What the Mediterranean Sea was to the Greeks, breaking the bond of custom, offering new experiences, calling out new institutions and activities, that, and more, the ever retreating frontier has been to the United States directly, and to the nations of Europe more remotely."

Somewhat appropriately then, Paul L. MacKendrick, a classicist, introduces this series with a discussion of the Roman frontier as seen under the Turner hypothesis. In similar manner the frontiers of the Mediterranean world between 1000 and 1400, of Spanish America, of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, and Russia's far eastern expansion are examined by other scholars. Unique among those discussed is the Chinese frontier. It was fixed. From it the invader came. The last essay on the world frontier is Walter Prescott Webb's "The Western World Frontier."

The conclusions that the authors draw are, in the main, sympathetic, but cautious. Professor MacKendrick sets the tone by admitting the many

differences between Rome and American frontiers, yet he believes that the application of the Turner hypothesis to the colonial experience of Rome promises fruitful results. Professor Silvio Zavala, who writes on the frontiers of Hispanic America, concludes as follows: "I believe that the evidence is not all in, that the thesis may be examined in other regions and from other points of view." Professor Webb, however, goes further: "When from the same vantage point we observe the interaction between the Metropolis and the Great Frontier over a period of four and one-half centuries we feel that we have perhaps found one of the keys to modern Western civilization. In this interaction, we see a prime example of Toynbee's challenge and response; we see a backdrop of Spengler's philosophy of rise and decay, which he probably did not see."

The second half of this collection of essays deals with the American frontier. Here we are consoled by the fact that we are on more familiar, if not surer, ground. Thomas Perkins Abernethy interprets the southern frontiers in terms other than the Turner theory. "Jefferson's democracy," he points out, "came from European philosophers, not from his contact with the wilderness." There follows a series of excellent essays. Paul W. Gates presents evidence of tenant farmers and farm laborers on the mid-western frontier, thereby showing that the social structure was more complex than many have assumed. Walter A. Agard writes of classics on the frontier—schools and colleges stressed Latin and Greek, the curriculum of the eastern colleges. This fact Turner admitted when he said: "The most effective efforts of the East to regulate the frontier came through its educational and religious activity, exerted by interstate migration and by organized societies. . . ." But, if we accept his theory, we must conclude that education had little to do with shaping political and social institutions.

Frederic G. Cassidy presents impressive evidence of the effect of the frontier on the development of the "American" language—the journals of the Lewis and Clark expedition contain 1,107 Americanisms, 583 of which were unrecorded before. Henry Nash Smith has done an excellent essay on Mark Twain's *Roughing It*, and A. Irving Hallowell concludes the series with a suggestive evaluation of the impact of the Indian on American culture.

As studies of the American frontier these essays are extremely interesting. It is somewhat, unfortunate, perhaps, that it became necessary in every case for the author to view his material in the light of the Turner thesis.

For the reviewer of this collection, a question larger than the validity of the Turner theory arises: How valuable is it to raise a theory of history of this range to a higher level? In any attempt to understand history the temptation to seek a single, comprehensive theory is great, for rationalism has a way of leading to monism. But theories of the "middle range" are usually more amenable to verification than vast, architectonic systems that attempt to explain the whole of history. The brilliance and the synthesizing power of the Spenglers, the Toynbees, and the Webbs should

not obscure the importance of explanations of comparatively limited range. Nor should the contributions of the Drapers be overlooked.

JOHN WALTON

*The Johns Hopkins University*

*The Log-Cabin Campaign.* By ROBERT GRAY GUNDERSON. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1957. xii, 292 pp. \$7.50.

The Whig campaign for the election of William Henry Harrison and John Tyler in 1840 taught American politicians a practical lesson which has proved to be a basic essential of election contests for more than a century. The lesson was simple, but so effective that it was startling. Today, every experienced participant in America's distinctive game of politics knows that the first rule of the contest has little to do with the candidates, or the issues or the platforms—it is, in essence, "Get Out The Vote!"

American political campaigns in the half century before the Log-Cabin campaign were for the most part comparatively quiet, and were devoted mainly to partisan philosophy on broad issues. The composition of the electorate remained fairly stable, although the admission of Western states was introducing more democratic elements. But in 1840, although defeated Van Buren received 400,000 more votes than he had polled in 1836, the victorious Whigs had succeeded in bringing out more voters than had ever voted before, increasing the popular vote by more than 54% over that of 1836. "By appealing to the lowest common intellectual denominator, the log-cabin and hard-cider fanfaronade attracted a new interest in political affairs and stimulated a wider participation in politics."

From very thorough studies of contemporary newspapers, pamphlets and political correspondence, Dr. Gunderson has assembled an interesting and comprehensive narrative of the private machinations and public demonstrations which accompanied the most uproarious election in our history up to that time. The "Great Commotion" of 1840 was generated by hard times and the decline of the vigorous political unity that had existed under Jackson. Merchants, manufacturers, land speculators and advocates of internal improvements formed a legion of discontent under the Whig banner. Professional politicians like Weed, Seward, Greeley and Stevens began to invent attractive ideological issues. In January, 1840, two Whig campaign managers in Harrisburg decided to dramatize Harrison as the "Log-Cabin and Hard Cider" candidate, taking their cue from a sneering remark which had been published a few weeks earlier by the Democrats. No publicity stunt ever succeeded so well, for within the month, cabins, coons, hard cider, campaign songs, transparencies and slogans appeared everywhere. The alarmed Democrats tried to stem the tide by reviving the Jackson legend, but the feeble appearance of the ageing Hero of New Orleans at an anniversary celebration was of little interest.

After Charles Ogle, a Pennsylvania Congressman who had learned the power of violent invective from Thad Stevens, delivered his outrageous harangue against "the regal splendor of the President's palace," there were no longer any decent limits to the type of attacks hurled against "Sweet Sandy-Whiskers" Van Buren. For thousands of newly enfranchised voters, the choice seemed clear—a simple and easy decision for either the democratic Log-Cabin and Hard Cider candidate, or for the "effeminate, scheming trickster, who perfumed his whiskers, ate from gold spoons, and even installed a bathtub in the White House."

Untiring efforts of Whig campaign managers aroused such nationwide enthusiasm that even candidate Harrison felt obliged to join the campaign in person, and in unprecedented fashion took to the stump. The greatest tribute to his campaign managers is probably shown by the fact that Harrison actually began to believe that he lived in a log-cabin, instead of a rather stately mansion.

The author's frequent quotations from contemporary political journals make this history of a political campaign entertaining and a valuable source reference. He has made wide use of manuscript collections in northern and middle-western states to supply material for his descriptions of the activities of politicians and campaign managers, and has used the columns of dozens of newspapers, like Greeley's *Log Cabin*, The *Cleveland Axe*, the *Baltimore Log Cabin Advocate*, and the *Washington Globe* for contemporary comment. As a result, the book fills a real need for an accurate and well-documented account of the behind-the-scenes activities of a significant American political campaign.

The author has confined himself to the twelve-month period from the fall of 1839 to the election of 1840, and stays rather strictly within the limits of campaign operations and personalities. Despite the complications arising from the multiplicity of factions making up the Whig Party of 1840, the host of charges and counter-charges from both factions, and the introduction of real and fictitious issues, he has preserved a sense of continuity through the exciting months of 1840, and presented a clear picture of the actions and successive reactions which developed at various stages of the campaign.

Perhaps the significance of the boisterous Log-Cabin campaign in American political history is so well appreciated that additional interpretation is not necessary, but Dr. Gunderson's intensive study leads one to wish that he had indulged in some additional speculation as to its real relation to previous and to succeeding political methods. Certainly the Log-Cabin campaign has always been pictured as the most spectacular outburst of sudden political interest in our history, but many of the same methods were in evidence in 1800, in 1828, in 1884 and in 1896. Was the campaign of 1840 merely a more intensified version of a trend which had begun with Jackson, or perhaps even a natural outgrowth of democratic aversion to aristocracy which was so evident in the pamphleteering of 1800? Was it a sincere and natural expression of frontier sentiment, or was it the result of ingenious and strenuous activity on the part of astute campaign managers?



These broad questions are not the major elements of the author's interest, but for those who are interested in seeking further interpretation, this book will prove an excellent base for starting such an analysis.

The book is carefully documented, contains a few well-selected illustrations of campaign materials, and the publication format is excellent. Portions of the book have previously appeared in various historical periodicals.

FREDERIC SHRIVER KLEIN

*Franklin and Marshall College*

*Baltimore . . . A Picture History, 1858-1958. Commentary by Francis F. Beirne.* Compiled under the Auspices of the Maryland Historical Society. A Centennial Project of Hutzler Brothers Co. New York: Hastings House, 1957. 154 pp. \$5.

From many sources, both public and private, including the bulging files of the Maryland Historical Society, the compilers gathered the quite remarkable pictures which make up the bulk of this excellent volume. It would be of great interest and value on the basis of its pictures alone. What gives it special distinction is the exceedingly graceful commentary by Francis F. Beirne, who, through his previous books, *The War of 1812* and *The Amiable Baltimoreans*, has achieved a unique place as a Baltimore chronicler.

This book fills a real need. The century it covers could be understood and appreciated fully only by persons of scholarly or antiquarian bent endowed with sufficient leisure to seek out for themselves the material of these pages. But for the common or garden variety Baltimorean, even for many rather exceptional citizens, this would be utterly impossible. *Baltimore . . . A Picture History* is for all of us a skillful, honest, accurate winnowing of a large body of material, intelligently interpreted and handsomely presented.

A prologue of admirable conciseness establishes the background to the 1858-1958 span. We get a deft word picture of Baltimore Town in 1729, when, after two false starts in other localities, the Maryland commissioners charged with founding a town named Baltimore bought a tract of 60 acres in what is now the heart of downtown. "The price paid," it is noted in the prologue, "was 40 shillings an acre, in money or tobacco at the rate of a penny a pound. Basing calculations on the price of Maryland tobacco then and now, that would be the equivalent of about \$15,000 today, or less than enough to buy a modest ranch-type house burdened with the customary ground-rent."

In the 25 pages of the prologue one finds George Calvert, First Lord Baltimore; a map of the original town, roughly bounded by the Basin, Holliday, Saratoga and Liberty streets; old prints of vanished landmarks, portraits of such worthies as the Signer, Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and the Revolutionary War hero, John Eager Howard; memorabilia of

Betsy Patterson and Jerome Bonaparte, of Francis Scott Key; old prints of the Washington Monument and other landmarks still happily and proudly standing; pictures reflecting Baltimore's growing commerce, wealth and culture. One finds clipper ships—also Poe, Professor Morse, Rembrandt Peale and his gaslit Museum; politics, trade, invention, down to the 1850's, when, as a mid-century print reveals, the shape and spirit of Baltimore as we know it today were clearly indicated.

The section covering 1858-1875, headed "Flourishing Metropolis of the Eastern Seaboard," reveals our border city in the troubled Civil War and post-war times. Photography begins to supplant the sketch-artist. There is a fine photograph of Union troops manning the cannon placed on Federal Hill—and formidable big guns they were, too—which General Ben Butler is said to have ordered trained upon the Maryland Club, a hotbed of Southern sympathizers.

"From the Somber Seventies to the Gay Nineties" brings the record down almost to the Great Fire, from the depression of 1877 and its riots to the first commercial electric street railway, the first linotype machine, the founding of the Johns Hopkins University and Hospital, the Pratt Library, Simon Lake's history-making submarine, and the excitement of War with Spain. This section is replete with Latrobe stoves, elegant carriages, steamboats, the old Orioles, raw bars, theatricals.

The section entitled "A New Century and a Millennium That Went Astray" (1900-1925) brings some marvelously serene pictures as well as appalling scenes of the fire disaster of February, 1904. Here are the last tollgate, automobiles supplanting the fine carriages, an airplane that traveled at 50 miles an hour; here, too, are Babe Ruth, William Jennings Bryan at the 1912 Democratic Convention, the poet Lizette Reese; here the excitement of the War to End All Wars.

The section 1925-58 must have been the most difficult to prepare, confronted as the compilers and commentator were with an embarrassment of riches. It is a marvel of choice selectivity in which H. L. Mencken, Mayor Broening, Lindbergh, Repeal, Wallis Warfield, war, shipping, and the major league Orioles all have their lively place in a chronicle of Baltimore from the relatively innocent twenties to the Atomic Age.

The conscientious reviewer feels in duty bound to look for and point out deficiencies or errors. But though this reviewer has done his evil best in this regard, he has found between the end-covers of "Baltimore . . . A Picture History" nothing to deplore, much to praise. In its attractive dust cover, the book is a delectable item—a sound and useful and wholly delightful work, of which the Maryland Historical Society and its generous patrons of the Hutzler Centennial have every right to feel proud.

R. P. HARRISS

*Baltimore*

*The Savings Bank of Baltimore, 1818-1866. A Historical and Analytical Study.* By PETER LESTER PAYNE and LANCE EDWIN DAVIS. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1956. lx, 188 pp. Paper, \$3.

The purpose for which early mutual savings banks were organized in both this country and abroad was benevolent: to encourage the habit of thrift among the industrious poor and to provide a safe and profitable outlet for the small saver. Banking institutions formed for charitable ends may nevertheless, by guiding rivulets of savings into large pools of potential capital, both influence and be affected by broad-streamed changes flowing through the economy. The history of the Savings Bank of Baltimore during the years 1818-1866 provides illustration for both these points. Carefully told by two promising economic historians, one British (Payne), the other American, this history salutes a Baltimore landmark that is at once venerable and vigorous.

Following its formation by leading citizens of Baltimore in 1818 the Savings Bank of Baltimore grew slowly: depositors numbered only 256, assets amounted to only about \$20,000 at the end of the first year of operations, the Bank had no building of its own, it lacked a permanent administrative force, and it was opened only one day a week by teams of directors donating their time and experience. It took fifteen years for assets to climb to the half-million mark. By 1838 they had reached a million, and depositors numbered 3,500. In 1860 assets totalled nearly six and a half million dollars and depositors nearly 21,000. One significant consequence of the Bank's growth was the slow passage of authority from the Board of Directors to salaried officers: by the early 'thirties management by full-time professionals had replaced initial management by amateurs. Of greater significance were the policy changes associated with the change in management. Sounder banking practices were adopted: investments were diversified, greater emphasis was placed upon liquidity, and depositors came to be viewed as "customers whose needs should be catered to" rather than as mere "recipients of aid."

From this point Payne and Davis proceed, in chapters of great interest, to examine the impact of business cycles upon the Bank, its reactions to economic crises, its changing investments, and its role in financing Baltimore's industry and trade. National business cycles appear to them most clearly reflected in the growth of total deposits (p. 80), but they also detect their importance as factors leading to change in loan policy (pp. 122, 128). The ability of the Bank to withstand panics in 1834, 1837, 1842, 1853 and 1857 they attribute to portfolio diversification, a willingness to pay all demands immediately in time of crisis, and the confident support of the Baltimore business community. After tracing the "steadily increasing diversification" in the Bank's assets the authors examine one facet of it, viz., the provision of industrial loans, and reach the conclusion that "the Bank played a significant, if minor, role in providing capital for the early industrial development of Baltimore" (p. 137). This is an important conclusion, for, as the authors note (p. 125), economic

historians have generally agreed that the banking systems of neither Great Britain nor the United States have in the past been very active in the field of "direct industrial financing." The Bank's apparent method was "to grant loans for relatively short periods of time but to renew them when they fell due" (p. 135).

Payne and Davis announce their important findings in words chosen with unusual care for their clarity and exactness. As a rule, they are equally circumspect in bringing economic theory to bear upon their data, for they usually apply it with a fine regard for earlier situations not always conformable to modern assumptions. (For example, after finding it "somewhat surprising" that the Bank lent to as many firms in the primary as in the secondary industries—surprising because "economic fluctuations were felt more violently in the primary goods industries," and because the Bank was conservative in its policy,—they observe that in the pre-Civil War period "cyclical fluctuations affected different industries in a less discriminating fashion than they have in more recent decades" (p. 127). Pages 66, 78, and 81 also furnish instances of what seem to me judiciously moderated applications of theory; pages 32 and 62 seem to me to contain exceptions to the rule).

Occasionally the authors' caution seems responsible for their having refrained from drawing conclusions to which their evidence clearly points. For example, while the Bank was organized for the charitable purpose of encouraging thrift among the industrious poor, it quickly outgrew its mantle of benevolence. In 1822 it set at \$50 the maximum amount permitted to be deposited in any one week (a figure clearly aimed at groups far removed from poverty) and retained this limit until June 1839 (p. 32). The authors allow this to pass without comment, as they do a subsequent quotation from the Board of Directors, in which the Board confesses (in 1854): "'In the early days of the operation of the Bank a number of Depositors were wealthy and the deposits large. . .'" (p. 36). These are facts which belong together with the fact that the Bank cared little for liquidity during the earlier period (pp. 94-95; 102), for together they provide far more substantial support than the authors are otherwise able to summon for their reluctant and belated conclusion (p. 94) that profit and not safety was the Bank's aim during the 1819-1837 period. Indeed, the extent to which safety can have been the overriding consideration in the investment policy of the later period is placed in doubt by the gradual concentration of the bulk of the Bank's loans "in a relatively few hands" (p. 123), and by its role in the financing of industry (p. 125).

I do not wish to imply that the authors altogether refrain from criticizing the Board. They do criticize it (pp. 94; 101-102), but not with vigour. One reason for this, I suspect, has been their too great reliance on sources drawn from the archives of the Bank itself (the Minutes and Proceedings of the Board—which contain monthly balance sheets showing assets and liabilities, monthly deposits and withdrawals, and net deposits—and the Minutes of the Bank's Investing Committee). The authors supplement

these with secondary accounts enabling them to argue cogently that the Bank was probably typical of other mutual savings banks of the period, but one looks in vain for correspondence, diaries, newspapers (except for seven citations from *Niles' Register* and two from the *Baltimore Sun*) or other contemporary periodical literature.

Another result of the paucity of contemporary sources used is that the individuality of the Bank fails to emerge from these pages. Nor do its officers and directors become more than the written names of men who once lived, moved, and had their being in the midst of vibrant uncertainties. But this is perhaps a minor criticism on the part of a reader who prefers an appeal to his historical imagination as well as to his intellect. For surely the latter appeal is of fundamental importance. By their series of careful, intensive analyses of various facets of the life of the Savings Bank of Baltimore Payne and Davis have made a significant contribution to our understanding of the economic life of the antebellum period. Had there existed a respectable economic history of Baltimore their contribution would have been even greater: many of their promising ideas had to be left on the brink of non-existing data.

STUART BRUCHEY

*Northwestern University*

*The Farmers Bank: An Historical Account of the President, Directors and Company of The Farmers Bank of the State of Delaware, 1807-1957.* By DUDLEY C. LUNT. [Dover: The Farmers Bank of the State of Delaware, 1957.] 308 pp. \$10.

It is interesting that the 150th anniversary of the Farmers Bank of the State of Delaware fell in the very year in which the 200th anniversary of the birth of Alexander Hamilton was celebrated. For, as Dudley Lunt observes, the Farmers Bank was created in a Hamiltonian mold—that is, it was fashioned after the form of the Bank of the United States, the child of Hamilton. Like the Bank of the United States it came to have a peculiarly close relationship to the government that chartered it. Over half of its stock is today owned by the State of Delaware, which appoints a minority of its directors and employs it as the official depository and in other ways. Still it is privately managed, for a system of scale voting limits the power of large stockholders, the state especially, in its affairs.

This venerable institution, which a historian of banking recently declared was "perhaps the oldest in the States still operating under its original charter," has been served prominently by a number of men of Maryland origin or connection. Three Henry Ridgelys are numbered among its total of only six presidents. Kensey Johns, like the Ridgelys, descending from an Anne Arundel family, was the first president of the New Castle branch. John Rumsey, from the Eastern Shore, was the first president of the Wilmington branch and coordinator of the activities of the branch

banks at a time when rapid transportation was centering them at the Wilmington branch. He was succeeded by Louis McLane, who somewhat later in his distinguished career bought his wife's family home on the Bohemia River and then, still later, became a thorough-going Marylander when he was elected president of the B. & O. in 1837. A successor of McLane, several administrations removed, was his former law student, James A. Bayard, of Bohemia Manor, Cecil County, who was to become the second prominent U. S. Senator of this name.

Probably the most important administrations in the history of the Farmers Bank were those of the first and third Henry Ridgelys. The first Ridgely, who was also a U. S. Representative and Senator, was president for the long term of forty years (the second Henry Ridgely had a fifty-six-year term of office), and in this time the bank was established with its principal office at Dover and semi-independent branches at Georgetown, New Castle, and Wilmington. Notes were issued, deposits were received, and financial storms were weathered. For one year, in 1810, the bank's operations reached outside Delaware through an insurance agency in Philadelphia.

In the twentieth century occurred a period of reorganization and modernization in the years of and surrounding the administration of another Henry Ridgely, an able lawyer and man of affairs who was blind for most of his life. The effect of this reorganization was to unify the little state that they served. Soon after the death of this third Ridgely president the Farmers Bank was under the professional management of men trained by careers in banking rather than, as in the old tradition, of scions of distinguished Delaware families to whom banking was a side-line to another career. Today the Farmers Bank is expanding to meet the greater credit needs of its state, and though the New Castle branch was liquidated in 1899, other offices have been acquired by merger with local banks in Smyrna, Rehoboth, and Newark.

This history, which was written for the company, is often frustrating to a scholar because of a lack of citations and dates, items he is all the more eager to see because the author has used primary sources and does present much new material. It is episodic in character, with vivid descriptions of some scenes like the opening of subscription books in 1807 and an attempted robbery in 1887. Its binding, typography, and illustrations make it an altogether handsome volume. Seventy pages are devoted to a clear, well-integrated pictorial history, and useful lists of officers appear in the appendix.

JOHN A. MUNROE

*University of Delaware*

*Colonial Living.* By EDWIN TUNIS. Cleveland and New York: The World Publishing Co., 1957. 157 pp. \$4.95.

*Colonial Living* is an absorbing recreation of the conditions of daily life in the American colonies by the author-illustrator Edwin Tunis, well



known for his outstanding earlier volumes on *Wheels* and *Weapons*. Written simply enough for young people to enjoy, it merits attention by readers of any age who are interested in the social and technological history of the colonial period.

As its title implies, this book covers all aspects of colonial life from education to economic pursuits, from food to furniture, from sports to styles in clothing, hair dressing, and sleeping arrangements. Interspersed in the lively text are colonial recipes for samp, johnny cake, and pie crust; discussions of how to shoe an ox, make soap, and powder a wig; comments on such colonial innovations as ride and tie, the ha-ha wall, and the petticoat lamp; and understanding observations on the coaches, roads, and inns of the colonial period. The outstanding value of this volume, however, comes from the juxtaposition of text with a profusion of admirable pen-drawings that will enable readers unfamiliar with Sturbridge Village, Jamestown, or Williamsburg to understand perhaps for the first time precisely how colonial life was lived. The pots, truncheons, spinning wheels, and looms of the colonial housewife; the well sweep, flail, cradle, and cow poke of the farmer; the tools of the glassblower, the hatter, the joiner, and the hewer; the mills of the papermaker, sawyer, and miller; the printer's press and the tobacco grower's "prize" are all here illustrated. They are usually drawn in use, and so clearly that even those who may have difficulty with some of the technical terms in the text can appreciate their operation.

Mr. Tunis has divided his discussion into three parts which deal, on a geographical basis, briefly with the initial settlements, and at greater length with settlements in the seventeenth and in the eighteenth century. Of particular interest to this reviewer was the section on the seventeenth century, written in a conscious attempt to restore this all too frequently neglected period to its proper place in colonial development. The author not only examines and contrasts the different patterns of living that emerged in New England, New Netherland, and the Southern Colonies, reflecting the economic pursuits and national backgrounds of their settlers. More important, by emphasizing in all sections the unceasing toil of the colonists, their dogged perseverance, and their endless ingenuity in adapting the gifts of American nature, particularly wood, to their needs, he manages to convey something of the spirit of this early period to a twentieth century reader.

In dealing with the eighteenth century, Mr. Tunis changes his geographical scheme of organization, concentrating first on the frontier back country as found in Pennsylvania, and then on the more settled areas along the Atlantic coast. This arrangement has the merit of highlighting the rapidity with which the refinements of "civilized living" arrived in the coastal colonies to distinguish them sharply from more Westerly settlements where much of the pattern of seventeenth century life was perforce maintained. Unfortunately, it does not allow Mr. Tunis to differentiate, except in a general way, the manners of living of the various classes that had already formed in the urban centers of the East.

Since Mr. Tunis is concerned primarily with a description of colonial life, he does not attempt to deal fully with the complicated question of the basic factors that determined the pattern of this life. The importance of the physical environment with its varying demands and resources is stressed throughout. Of equal significance in Mr. Tunis' eyes is the influence of traditional ways of living brought by the colonists from Europe. This is a factor which Americans tend frequently to underestimate due to lack of knowledge about living conditions in seventeenth century Europe and a rather overblown pride in our forefathers' powers of improvisation. Much of American colonial life from the houses the early settlers built and the clothes they wore to the furniture they made and the games they played, represented a recreation in new surroundings, of the kind of life they had known in Europe. The role of British economic policy in moulding colonial living is noted occasionally but, regrettably, is usually mentioned as a repressive force. Recent research has indicated that it is time to abandon this rather hackneyed view and recognize the fact that much of the economic activity described so vividly by Mr. Tunis was due to the connection with Britain and even to the commercial regulations she imposed.

In his Introduction, Mr. Tunis states that he does not intend to write history, but rather to provide "the stage set for history." The importance of such a stage set, presented here with clarity, vigor, and enthusiasm, is two-fold. Not only does it enable the reader to gain an appreciation of colonial life *per se*, but it also helps him to understand the seedbed of the ideals and ambitions that ultimately culminated in the establishment of an independent nation.

RHODA M. DORSEY

*Goucher College*

*A Guide to Early American Homes.* By DOROTHY and RICHARD PRATT.  
New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1956. 2 vols. \$5.75.

Every traveler desirous of seeing Great Britain's stately homes must use the slender magazine-like pamphlet of 32 pages which lists over 200 houses and castles open to the public, and illustrates 80 of them, and which despite its low price of only half a crown is known as "The Golden Book." It is interesting to compare with this modest publication, cataloguing the carefully guarded jewels of British domestic architecture, the equally useful *Guide to Early American Homes*, in two octavo volumes totalling 459 pages.

The first volume deals with the area north of the Mason and Dixon Line and the Ohio River. It describes no less than 950 homes, of which over 160 are illustrated. The second starts where the first lets off, and continues through the South as far as Arkansas and Missouri. It describes over 850 houses, of which more than 170 are illustrated. Historical

societies and museums are included in the term "homes" if they have early American rooms.

It would be invidious to compare such glorious treasure houses as Chatsworth, Blenheim and Windsor Castle with anything ever built in this simpler land, including even an isolated phenomenon like Biltmore, of which the Guide wryly says, "There is everything here that money can buy." But in compiling the descriptions and the data on how to visit the nearly 2,000 buildings listed—sometimes only the outside may be seen, and at times even then, only from some more hospitable neighbor's land—the authors have done a Herculean task, and done it well. They have added to the delights of travel for all who use the *Guide*. And by so doing they have contributed to the world-wide fight against vandalism, and will aid in the removal of the stigma of provincialism and backwardness from the too numerous parts of this country which, lagging behind more culturally-minded Western Europe where preservation movements are active and strong, permit and even rejoice in the destruction of the Nation's precious architectural heritage.

DOUGLAS GORDON

*Baltimore*

COUNTERFEITING IN COLONIAL AMERICA. By KENNETH SCOTT. New York: Oxford University Press, 1957. xii, 283 pp. \$5.

The art of counterfeiting, if one can call it that, is as ancient as money itself. Not simply money as we know it, but even the most primitive forms. The earliest settlers found the Indian adept at passing false strings of wampum. But, as Professor Scott's readable account shows us, the great age of counterfeiting was the eighteenth century when the newly introduced paper money furnished an Eden for men—and some enterprising women—who strove to live by illicit means. Paper money was not only a novel medium of exchange, but most of it was rather simple, even crude, in appearance. Hence it was easier to imitate than the finely engraved bills of today. Moreover conditions in colonial America favored the counterfeiter. Each of the thirteen seaboard provinces had its own paper currency in several denominations, some of it in circulation outside its borders. Still further complexity was added by the practice of piling up new issues different in appearance from the old—the "new tenor" bills which circulated along with earlier issues. Even the experienced merchant could hardly expect to acquire sufficient expertise to spot the bogus bills instantly. No wonder almost every colony had its rings of confederates busily making and passing counterfeit money.

Professor Scott documents the story of colonial counterfeiting with numerous case histories drawn from early court proceedings. His research is another example of the use to which these numerous and largely unmined records can be put. The result is a document in social as well as economic

history. To put the theme of this volume in a sentence, it is the story of a society endeavoring to protect its economy from racketeers.

Scattered throughout the narrative are dozens of deft passages that provide illuminating sidelights. Where does one find such a Villonesque expression of criminal philosophy as in the dying speech of Gilbert Belcher, the silversmith turned counterfeiter: "No gain afforded me so much pleasure as that which I acquired by illicit means." What sardonic pleasure the felons of a Rhode Island counterfeit ring must have derived as they faithfully copied the slogan on so many provincial bills: "To counterfeit is death." In one of the covenants drawn up by a gang to regulate conduct of its members the paper concluded with this gem, "God save the King. Prosper our Progress herein and Preserve us from all Traytors."

On the whole the author appears more concerned with the narrative than with the interpretation of his findings. Successive case histories of the organizations that made and passed false bills form the bulk of the book. In turn we read of the famous counterfeiters of the day. One of the early practitioners was John Potter, the Quaker commissioner for signing the Rhode Island bills, who turned his lawful experience to criminal ends. Samuel Weed and the Derby Gang of Connecticut receive a special chapter. Another is devoted to the exploits of Joseph Bill of the Boston Gang and the following to that personally unpleasant but technically most proficient of colonial counterfeiters, Owen Sullivan, guiding genius of the Dover Money Club. Predominantly the narrative centers about New England, New York, and Pennsylvania. There is a brief chapter on counterfeiting in the South. Virginia currency was so cleverly imitated that Washington's steward feared to take it for corn he had sold. And at a Leedstown race only half the expected betting occurred because Marylanders were unwilling to stake their property against doubtful Virginia money.

Maryland is mentioned chiefly in connection with the doings of the notorious Richard Clarke (active 1704-1708) and with the transported felons of 1770 who immediately presented the public with specimens of their ingenuity, apparently made during the voyage. To find the Maryland story in detail it is necessary to turn to the author's article "Counterfeiting in Colonial Maryland" in this *Magazine*, June, 1956.

Professor Scott brings to his writing extensive research on early American counterfeiting, already embodied in monographs published by the American Numismatic Society. His command of the subject is almost too profound for readers who baulk at masses of relatively unimportant people who come and go through the pages. But the story is well told. And if the connections among the many actors are not always instantly clear, the fault lies with the characters themselves. Even today racketeers on the witness stand have lapses of memory when asked about confederates. A commendatory foreword by U. E. Baughman, Chief, U. S. Secret Service, Treasury Department, reminds us of the similarity of yesterday and today in matters criminal.

AUBREY C. LAND

*University of Nebraska*

*Maryland's Established Church.* By NELSON WAITE RIGHTMYER. Baltimore: The Church Historical Society for the Diocese of Maryland. xi, 239 pp. \$5.

Colony and state, Maryland has an interesting and significant religious history. Though we know the outlines in a general way, often precise detail does not come readily to mind. If pressed, the informed layman and frequently the specialist in Maryland history cannot bring forth satisfactory answers to many pertinent questions. Mr. Rightmyer's monograph on the established church is therefore welcome as an important contribution toward the complete religious history which may one day be ours.

Like any good piece of work, however, this one can stand on its merits without reference to some ultimate structure of which it may become a part. In eight chapters the author covers the establishment of the Anglican church in Maryland, its functioning, the supervision of the clergy, and some important policy matters that touched on church-state relationships down to the Revolution. Although this essay carries the burden of the argument, and is consequently the focus of the book, two additional sections are also important. The parochial appendix and the biographical appendix furnish detail that will be useful to historians, genealogists, and to those simply interested in the story of their own parish church. This type of data is often not published because it is thought too prosaic or dry. Actually these appendices prove not only interesting reading, but they furnish a wealth of hitherto unavailable data on the people who made the colonial church a going concern.

The plot of the essay turns about the vicissitudes of the established church, which was born in the travail of transition from proprietary to royal government and existed for three quarters of a century at the focus of contending forces in provincial life. Mr. Rightmyer describes this situation as "stalemate." Basically the difficulty stemmed from the uncertainty as to who should control the church. There were conflicting claims—by the Lord Proprietor (under his charter), by the Bishop of London (as episcopal superior), by the laity of Maryland (in default of any other authority). As always in the fascinating history of eighteenth-century Maryland the problem got into politics and into the economic debate that enlivens so many pages of colonial history. Release from these tensions came only with the Revolution and the reconstruction of the church along lines now familiar to Americans.

Mr. Rightmyer has carefully sifted the relevant records for data and he tells the story drawn from them well. The reader emerges with a new appreciation of the position of the church in the eighteenth-century and of the endless complexity of the society to which it ministered. In this volume, as in former published articles (*MdHM*, XLIV), the author has done battle to correct the view that the Anglican clergy were a profligate, insouciant lot, Bennet Allen and a few others to the contrary notwithstanding. His position, and this reviewer subscribes to it, is that the clergymen were in the main decent, responsible people working in con-



ditions not familiar to those with English backgrounds and often very far from ideal. Now that he is conversant with the materials, perhaps we can hope for other volumes that have long been needed, for instance a systematic study of the social work of the established clergy, or to take another example, of the ideas they broadcast during the years of their pastorates. Such books would be notable contributions to the social and intellectual history of the eighteenth century and would add other laurels to the author's crown.

AUBREY C. LAND

*University of Nebraska*

*The Intimate Letters of John Cleves Symmes and His Family.* Edited by BEVERLEY W. BOND, JR. Cincinnati: The Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio, 1956. xxxiii, 174 pp. \$4.50.

This small volume supplements the editor's *Correspondence of John Cleves Symmes, Founder of the Miami Purchase* published in 1926. The present collection differs from the previous in that this deals solely with personal materials which picture Judge Symmes and his family and friends against the background of daily life in one of the more important of the early settlements in Ohio. Published on the 125th anniversary of the Society, this book owes its inspiration to Elizabeth G. McPherson of the Library of Congress who compiled a calendar of the papers and recognized the intrinsic literary merit and historical value of these personal letters. Above all, the book makes available the letters of an important family in Western settlement and with Maryland connections.

FRANK F. WHITE, JR.

*Riverdale, Maryland*

*The Courtship of Mr. Lincoln.* By RUTH PAINTER RANDALL. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1957. xiv, 219 pp. \$3.75.

In this, the third volume of her story of the Lincoln family, Mrs. Randall tells of the life of Mary and Abraham Lincoln between their first meeting in 1839 and their marriage in 1842. As in her previous books (*Mary Lincoln: Biography of a Marriage*, and *Mr. Lincoln's Sons*), the author has once again corrected inaccurate accounts and dispelled distortions. These were originally perpetrated by Lincoln's law partner William Herndon who disliked Mary Lincoln and did all he could to hurt her. *The Courtship* is still another aspect of the Lincoln story which even after a century still appears inexhaustible.

This well-written popular account shows warm understanding of the subjects as portrayed against the background of their times. It has a good bibliography, but no index or citations, although the author assures us she has in her possession the full documentation.

F. F. W.



*The Numbered Years, Five Decades at James City.* By MARGARET DENNY DIXON. Richmond: Garrett & Massie, Inc., 1957. 246 pp. \$3.50.

This is the story of life on Jamestown Island from 1629 through 1676. It is a continuation, though not a sequel, of the author's earlier book *The Princess of the Old Dominion*, which tells the story of Pocahontas. Although both of these works are fiction, the author has based them on a thorough study of Jamestown history. Mrs. Dixon has written an interesting book, suitable for young readers as well as mature ones.

*Woodworking Tools at Shelburne Museum.* By FRANK H. WILDUNG. Museum Pamphlet Series, Number 3. Shelburne, Vermont: Shelburne Museum, 1957. 79 pp.

This brief history of woodworking is an unusually fine contribution to the history of arts and crafts. It is beautifully illustrated, well organized and written, and should serve as a model for further publications in this field. One illustration in particular should interest Maryland readers. It is the interior of a harnessmaker's shop which was established in Hagerstown right after the Civil War, and it is now on exhibit in Shelburne Museum.

The following Church histories have been received and will be of interest to many of our readers:

*Bridge Across Four Centuries, The Clergy of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, Md.* Compiled by FREDERICK WARD KATES. St. Paul's Parish, 1957. 56 pp.

*A History of Grace Methodist Church 1868-1957.* By GEORGE W. DEXTER. [Baltimore:] George W. King Printing Co., [1957], 72 pp.

## NOTES AND QUERIES

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*House and Garden Pilgrimage*—The 1958 tour of Maryland houses and gardens commences on Tuesday, April 29, with the Green Spring Valley, and concludes with the visit to Prince George's County on Sunday, May 11. Tour books giving full information may be obtained from Pilgrimage Headquarters, 217 Sheraton-Belvedere Hotel, Baltimore 2, Md., VERNON-7-0228. Information and tickets are also available at the American Automobile Association Headquarters, 1712 G St., N. W., Washington, D. C. An all-day forum will be held on Monday, May 5, at the Baltimore Museum of Art, under the auspices of the Federated Garden Clubs of Maryland, the Baltimore Museum, and the Maryland Historical Society. Programs may be obtained from Pilgrimage headquarters. Afternoon speakers will be Mr. G. Carroll Lindsay, of the Smithsonian Institution, who will talk on "The Chippendale Style in America," and Miss Kathryn C. Buhler, of the Boston Museum of Art, whose subject will be "Original Aspects of American Silver." At the evening session Mr. John G. Phillips, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, will talk on "China Trade Porcelain."

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*Open House in Salem County, New Jersey*—The historic homes of Salem County, New Jersey, which lies along the Delaware River below Philadelphia, will be open to visitors April 26 and 27, under the auspices of the Salem County Historical Society. Further information may be obtained from Mrs. Jesse Slingsluff, Jr., 104 West Oakdale Road, Baltimore 10, Md., TUXedo-9-1565.

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*Correction*—In the September, 1957, issue of the *Magazine*, in line 4, second paragraph, page 245, 1799 should read 1779.

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*Greenough's "Medora"*—In the March, 1956, issue of the *Magazine*, Dr. Nathalia Wright remarks in her discussion of the statue of Medora executed by Horatio Greenough ("Horatio Greenough, Boston Sculptor, and Robert Gilmor, Jr., His Baltimore Patron") that the fate of the statue is unknown (see pages 5-10, 13). The *Medora* is now in the possession of Mrs. Sumner A. Parker, Brooklandville, Maryland.

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*First and Second Maryland Infantry, CSA*—I am interested in examining letters or diaries of members or associates of the First or Second Maryland Infantry, Confederate States Army. I have references to a diary by Spence Monroe Grayson, a journal by Daniel A. Fenton, a fuller history by Goldsborough of Maryland Confederate units, but none of these can now be located. And where are the letters of Captain William H. Murray? I would be grateful for the privilege of examining any such material.

HAROLD R. MANAKEE,

Director, War Records Division, Maryland Historical Society

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*Brooks*—Information is sought concerning the whereabouts of books and papers of Jehiel Brooks. From about 1830 to 1834 he was United States Indian Agent with the Caddo Nation of Indians in north-west Louisiana and south-west Arkansas in what are now Caddo Parish and Miller county, respectively. In 1835 he was sole Commissioner under Andrew Jackson, then President of the United States, and Lewis Cass, Secretary of War, to negotiate the July 1, 1835, treaty between the Caddo Indians and the United States. Brooks later purchased an island in Red River, near Shreveport, included in the treaty cession, from the half-breed Grappes and in 1848 won a lawsuit in the Supreme Court of the United States which had been brought against him by the United States. He appears to have been a citizen of Maryland, probably residing near the District of Columbia. Information concerning him or his papers will be greatly appreciated.

O. R. MCGUIRE,

Southern Building, Washington 5, D. C.

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*Carmichael*—In connection with the writing of the history of the United States Supreme Court during the period when Roger B. Taney was Chief Justice, I am seeking the papers of Judge Richard Bennett Carmichael and also those of other Maryland judges and lawyers who were active at that time.

Professor CARL BRENT SWISHER,

The Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore 18, Md.

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*Virginia-Maryland Families*—In the years 1695-1700 there were many connections between Stafford County, Va., and Baltimore County, Md., names. Is anyone working on these connections?

MRS. HENRY MONTGOMERY,  
303 Hurley Ave., Warwick, Va.

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*Sewall-Sewell*—For many years a tradition has existed in the family of Captain John Sewell of Harford County (the great-great grandfather of the writer) and in the families of his brothers, Basil Sewell of Talbot County (d. 1802) and Clement Sewell of Queen Anne's County (d. 1795), that these families were descended from Major Nicholas Sewall of St. Mary's County. The noted genealogists Dr. Christopher Johnston and Francis B. Culver stated that Captain John Sewell was not related to the St. Mary's County family, but recently, in collaboration with Mrs. Charles S. Kerr of Wynnewood, Pennsylvania, I discovered in the will of William Burgess, Jr. (Wills-Liber 6, folio 102 at Hall of Records, Annapolis, Md.) that Major Nicholas Sewall had a son William Sewall. This William was the father of Captain John Sewell, Basil Sewell and Clement Sewell. John Sewell was one of the administrators of his father's estate. (Liber 446, fol. 322 and Liber 49, fol. 553.) We also discovered that John Sewell had a brother William Sewell. (See Brumbaugh's *Maryland Records*, II, 390.)

HARRY Y. REIFSNYDER,  
5705 Elgin Avenue, Pittsburgh 6, Pa.

*Fite, Vogt, Voigt*—Information would be appreciated which would establish the given and maiden names of the wife of Henry Fite, who landed at Philadelphia, September 28, 1749, and whose name first appears in the land records of Maryland in 1763 as "of Frederick County." Henry Fite died intestate, October 28, 1789. In the Inventory and Accounts of his estate, he is described as being of Baltimore county. His wife's name does not appear in these records and it is thought that she pre-deceased Henry between 1772 and 1789.

PETER VAN DER POEL,  
7809 Chelsea St., Ruxton 4, Md.

*Rewards*—\$600 for first authentic proofs is offered by James W. Emison, Citizens Trust Building, Vincennes, Indiana. See page numbers in his book, (\*) *The Emison Families*, Revised, 1954 (available in libraries throughout the country), and manuscript, (\*\*) "Posey-Wade Harrison Families," D. A. R. Library, Washington, D. C.: \$100 for parents of Jonathan Holmes (1716-1803) and his wife Jennet (\* p. 161): \$100 for line of descent to William Weston Clarke (1722-1808) from Jeremy Clarke (1605-1651) or his brothers (\*\* pp. 166-74): \$100 for parents of Richard Posey (ca. 1733-1820) (probably John & Mary, not Thomas) (\* p. 178). Also \$100 for parents of his wife, Elizabeth Wade (\*\* pp. C176-C-178-C180T): \$100 for line of descent to Sarah DeWitt (1730-1792) (Wife of William Allen, b. 1731) from Charles DeWitt, Orange Co., Va., Will

Bk. 1-153; 1741. (\* p. 183) (\*\* p. 186A): \$100 for parents and first wife of Thomas Sinclair, d. 1818 (\* p. 240): \$100 for the father, and his parents, of Susannah Porter (1770-1856) (\* p. 260).

JAMES W. EMISON,  
Citizens Trust Building, Vincennes, Ind.

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*Dulin*—I am seeking information on the Dulin family of Maryland before 1717; their connection with Dulins of Essex County, Virginia; and the descendants of Dr. A. F. Dulin of Baltimore (d. 1891).

MRS. FRANK M. STEWART,  
908 Malcolm Ave., Los Angeles 24, Cal.

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*Wilson, Selby*—Data is wanted on Stephen Wilson, Sr. His daughter, Sarah, was willed property, "Spraddock's Forest," Prince George's County, Maryland, by Joshua Wilson Selby in 1815. His son, Stephen, Jr. (1786-1869) married Sarah Selby, daughter of William Wilson Selby, in 1812.

MRS. CLEM WILSON,  
Route 3, Box 123, Hot Springs, Ark.

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*Ruddach*—I have considerable data on this family, and I would like to contact any descendants who might know the maiden name and place of burial of Rebecca Ruddach.

MILDRED RUDDACH BOBINGER,  
5883 North Four Mile Run Drive, Arlington 5, Va.

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*Baltzell*—George Jacob Baltzell came from Germany to Frederick County in 1763 at the age of about twenty years. He moved to Morgantown, West Virginia, in 1796. I am trying to find out where, when and whom he married. Also where were his children born.

MRS. B. R. ADDENBROOKE,  
1327 18th Street, N. W., Washington 6. D. C.

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*Merriken-Earickson*—I am seeking information about Anne Merriken, who was born in Anne Arundel County on December 28, 1771. She married (1) Richard Todd, January 31, 1788, (2) John Gray, (3) Joshua Wright, February 2, 1795, and (4) William Earickson, September 3, 1800. I have a deed from Anne and William Earickson of Anne Arundel County, August 13, 1808, and would like to know what happened to Anne after that date.

MISS FREDERICA H. TRAPNELL,  
1510 Delaware Ave., Wilmington 6, Del.

## CONTRIBUTORS

JAMES PARTON's distinguished career includes service as an editor of *Time*, editor and publisher of the *Los Angeles Independent*, consultant to United States Department of State, and Director of the New York *Herald Tribune*. In 1954 he founded the American Publishing Company, Inc., and launched *American Heritage, the Magazine of History*.

ROBERT L. ALEXANDER is studying Godefroy and other French artists and architects in this country during the late 18th and early 19th centuries. He is a candidate for the doctoral degree in art history at New York University and is instructor in fine arts at the University of Pittsburgh.

WILLIAM B. MARYE, Corresponding Secretary of the Maryland Historical Society, is one of the leading authorities on the local history and archeology of Maryland. His contributions to the *Maryland Historical Magazine* have included articles on the sea coast of Maryland, the pre-settlement period of western Maryland, Maryland Indians, and natural history.

STUART BRUCHEY is Assistant Professor of Economic History of Northwestern University. His book, *Robert Oliver, Merchant of Baltimore, 1783-1819*, was based to a large extent on records in the Maryland Historical Society. The Taney manuscript came to his attention in connection with further studies he is undertaking in Maryland economic history.

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